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AGNI-PŪRĀṆA
A STUDY

Dr. S. D. Gyāni, M. A.

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Dedicated.

To my revered father but for whose inspiring guidance

the cultural treasures of ancient India

would have been lost to me.

S. D. Gyani.

PREFACE

This monograph presents a critical survey of the **Agnipurāṇa** *with special reference to its literary aspect. The* **Agnipurāṇa** *is a compendium of different branches of learning. Hence, it embodies matter from various sources* **viz.** *(i) earlier Purāṇas—* **Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu,** *(ii) the two epics-the* **Rāmāyaṇa** *and the* **Mahābhārata,** *(iii) Smṛti literature, (iv)* **Pañcarātra saṃhitā,** *(v)* **Kāmandakīya Nītisāra,** *(vi)* **Yuddhajayārṇava,** *(vii) Works on Āyurveda etc., (viii) Works on philosophy—***Yoga-sūtra, Bhagavadgīta, Yamagītā** *and (ix) literary works—Pāṇini's* **S'ikṣā,** *Piṅgala's* **Chandasūtra, Amarkośa, Kaumāra Vyakaraṇa,** *Bharata's* **Nāṭyaśāstra,** *Daṇḍin's* **Kāvyādarśa** *etc.*

The **Agnipurāṇa** *reflects the religious and social conditions of the period A. D. 700 or 800 to A. D. 1000 or 1100 and is an epitome of the cultural life during the priod. The society reflected in the* **Purāṇa** *is a full-fledged Hindu society based on the institution of Varṇavyavasthā. Dominance of the Brāhmaṇas is an important factor in the social build-up. The position of Śūdra and women was far from happy. The cult of Bhakti was a source of new life, vigour and energy to society. Inclusion in the* **Agnipurāṇa** *of dramaturgy, poetics, lexicography, philosophy, arts and Sciences shows the existence of a group of enlightened and highly educated persons that advanced cultural activities in society. H. C. Hazra regards the present* **Agnipurāṇa** *as a spurious work of the 9th century A. D., compiled by the Tāntrikas with a sectarian motive and the genuine* **Āgneyapurāṇa** *saved itself from extinction by assuming a different title viz.* **Vahnipurāṇa,** *now existing in Ms. and wrongly regarded as an Upa-Purāṇa by the scholars. Nevertheless, the present* **Agnipurāṇa** *represents a great literary effort of encyclopaedic nature representing the literary traditions of an age which witnessed all-sided progress and development in the domain of literary and cultural pursuits.*

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* * *

INTRODUCTION

1. *Puraṇic Studies, History* : With the progress of Sanskritic studies at the hands of Indologists, the Purāṇic literature attracted the scholars, though its historical value was not realised at the earlier stage. Sir William Jones, at the end of the eighteenth century, stressed the importance of the literature. Colebrooke, Vans Kennedy[1], Wilson[2] and Bournouf[3] in the first half of the 19th century, studied the literature and emphasised its religious and sectarian aspect. Rev. K. M. Banarji furthered the course of Purāṇic studies by editing *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.*[4] At a later stage, it was Pargiter[5], who undertook a thorough and critical study of the Purāṇas and established their importance for the reconstruction of ancient Indian history. K. P. Jayaswal[6] furthered the work undertaken by Pargiter. In 1927, Kirfel brought out his *Das Puraṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa,* when he brought together from various Purāṇas passages on the five characteristics of *Purāṇas* and thus rendered valuable services to the Purāṇic studies. He shows, what an insignificant part these five play in the Purāṇas; there are other characteristics which from the bulk of them.

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[1] *Researches into the Nature and affinity of ancient and Hindu Mythology,* London, 1831.

[2] *Essays on Sanskrit literature,* 1832; Intro. and notes to the *Translation of Vishṇu-purāṇa.*

[3] Preface to the edition and translation of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa.*

[4] Published by Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[5] *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (*Bibliotheca Indica.* Calcutta, 1904), *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions,* (London, 1922); *Purāṇa Texts of the dynasties of the Kali Age,* (Clarendon Press, 1933).

[6] *Śaiśunāga and Maurya Chronology.* The *Brāhmaṇa Empire.*

Besides these, several other orientalists[1] have made their own contributions to the furtherence of Purāṇic studies. As a result of these efforts, the importance of Purāṇic literature as a source of ancient Indian history and culture is firmly established.

2. *Problem* : There are several intriguing problems about the Purāṇas. They are not properly and critically edited and without an authentic edition of these works, it is very difficult to make a critical estimate of the literature. The popularity of the Purāṇas has created another problem for the Purāṇic scholar. Unlike the *Vedas*, the Purāṇas, being very popular, became a common property, and the *Sūtas* or others who were the custodians of the literature tempered with the texts, which resulted in several interpolations creeping into the Purāṇas, and thus caused chronological confusion. At one and the same place, are, sometimes, put together facts centuries apart in point of chronology. The Śakas, the Yavanas, the Khasas etc. come on the stage even in the days of some old *Ṛṣis* of the Vedic period. Due to such interpolations, the Purāṇas assumed tremendous proportions comprising diverse topics and various chronological strata. This is why, the Purāṇas are a sort of chaotic jumble of important and unimportant topics. This necessitates a careful sorting of the material embodied in them, a task by no means so easy. Because, old wine is put in new bottles, and as such the criterion for discriminating the old from the new is not easy to obtain. Like the old monuments of ancient India, old facts, much helpful

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[1] Dr. Sitaram Pradhan, *The chronology of ancient India*; Farquhar. *An outline of religious literature of India*. pp. 296. ff.; Ramchandra Dikshitar, *Some Aspects of the Vāyu-purāṇa*; R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and customs*; D. K. Shastri. *Purāṇa Vivecana* (Ahmedabad, 1931); K. M. Munshi, *Early Aryans in Gujarat*, (Bombay 1941); Harprasad Shastri. *The Mahāpurāṇas*; *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1928, Vol. XIV, pp. 323-340; N. N. Bose, *Bengali Viśvakośa*, Vol. XI, pp. 526-718.

for the reconstruction of ancient history, lie buried deep under the debries of subsequent layers of interpolations. Thus, much spade work becomes essential before the genuine historical facts could be available. A student of the Purāṇas will do well to undertake the important work of sorting without which a thorough understanding of the Purāṇic literature would not be possible.

2 A. *The problem of the Date of the Purāṇas :* The problem of the date of the Purāṇas is also very intriguing and controversial. No particular date or period can be assigned to a particular Purāṇa. The problem of date can best be solved by evolving a chronological setting for the Purāṇic literature in general, special attention being paid to the individual *Purāṇas*. The *Purāṇic* scholars have tackled in their own way this aspect of the *Purāṇic* studies.

3. *Mahāpurāṇas* : The *Purāṇas* in their extant form are called Mahāpurāṇas. They are of encyclopaedic nature, embodying several cultural and chronological strata, for in them are put together tradition and cosmogony, religion and mythology, philosophy and sociology. Perhaps, the growth of the Uppurāṇas may have given rise to the nomenclature of Mahāpurāṇas, by which the eighteen Purāṇas came to be subsequently known ; the name *Mahā-purāṇa* does not seem to be very old. A critical perusal of the extant Purāṇas shows that the name *Purāṇa,* or *Aṣṭādaśa-purāṇa* is generally adopted by the various Purāṇas, the *Viṣnu,* the *Bhāgavata* and the *Brahmavaivarta* being excepted, but even there the names *Purāṇa-saṁhitā* and *Aṣṭādaśa-purāṇa* occur in the earlier verses[1]. A critical

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[1] *Viṣ,* III, 6, 23; III, 6, 20; R. C. Hazra in SPRH. N. 2, note 20, remarks "that verses 21-26 (on the names of eighteen Purāṇas and their five characteristics) were interpholated especially when we take into consideration Viṣ. II 6, 20, which says that *Viṣṇupurāṇa* was based on the four *Purāṇa-Saṁhitās* completed by Romaharṣaṇa, Akṛatavarṇa, Sāvarṇi and Saṁśapāyana"; *Bhāg.* XII, 7, 10; XII, 7, 22; *Br.* Vai; IV, 137, 7.

study of the context in which the word *Mahā-purāṇa* occurs in the *Bhāgavata* and the *Brahma-vaivarta* clearly shows that the term *Purāṇa* was commonly used and the term *Mahā-purāṇa* had just been used to avoid confusion with the *Up-purāṇas*. But in the colophons of the extant Purāṇas, as already pointed out, the term *Mahā-purāṇa* is invariably used. Thus, it may be inferred that the nomenclature *Mahā-purāṇa* is not very old, having come into vogue after the rise of Up-purāṇa literature, with a view to avoid confusion between the two.

4. Sometimes, an effort is made to distinguish between *Purāṇa* or *Up-purāṇa* and *Mahā-purāṇa*. The *Bhāgavata*[1] tries to distinguish between the two on the basis of five and ten characteristics. The *Mahā-purāṇa* is described as having ten characteristics, whereas *Alpa* or *Up-purāṇa* merely five. The *Brahma-vaivarta*[2] also supports the same view, when it assigns ten characteristics to *Mahā-purāṇa* and five to *Up-purāṇa*. A critical examination of these names as well as their characteristic features clearly shows that the various terms are used promiscuously.

5. *Eighteen Purāṇas* : The number of the extant Purāṇas is admitted on all hands to be eighteen, which is also corroborated by the internal evidence of the Purāṇic literature itself, where there is unanimity of opinion as to their number, title etc. The list of eighteen Purāṇas as available from the various Purāṇas is as follows : *Brahma, Padma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva* or *Vāyavīya, Bhāgavata, Nāradīya, Mārakaṇḍeya, Āgneya, Bhaviṣya, Brhmvaaivarta, Iaiṅga, Varāha, Skanda, Vāmana, Kaurma, Matsya, Garuḍa* and *Brahmāṇḍa*. The lists of the eighteen Purāṇas which adopt, generally, the same order of enumeration occur in the *Vāyu*[3], *Matsya*[4],

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[1] XII, 7, 10; XII, 7, 22.

[2] IV, 133, 7.

[3] 104/2–11.

[4] 53/12–58.

Viṣṇu[1], *Mārkaṇḍeya*[2], *Bhāgavata*[3], *Agni*[4], *Skanda*[5], *Garuḍa*[6], *Padma*[7], *Brahma-vaivarta*[8], *Nārada*[9] and *Kūrma*[10]. These lists seem to have been either perfixed or suffixed to the individual Purāṇa at a later date, as they occur either in the beginning or at the end of a Purāṇa and form altogether an independent topic. The order of enumeration seems to be, more or less, stereotyped with a few exceptions[11]. In the lists obtained in the *Matsya*, *Agni*, *Skanda* and *Nārada Purāṇas*, the *Vāyavīya* occurs fourth in the serial order, whereas in the *Viṣṇu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Bhāgavata*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Bhaviṣya* and the *Kūrma Purāṇas* the *Śaiva* takes the place of the *Vāyavīya* In the *Padma-purāṇa* also, though the order of enumeration is somewhat different from that obtained in most of the Purāṇas, the name Śaiva occurs and not the Vāyavīya. This Śaiva may not be confused with the extant *Śiva-purāṇa*, which is merely an Up-purāṇa[12] and has nothing to do with the Purāṇa mentioned in the lists referred to above. The *Śaiva* of the lists cannot be other than the extant *Vāyu*, which claims to be a Śaivite Purāṇa. The name *Vāyavīya* may have come into vogue much earlier because even the *Mahābhārata* mentions a Purāṇa proclaimed by Vāyu[13], and the name *Śaiva* may have been originated at a later stage in view of its Śaivite tendencies.

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[1] III, 621–623.

[2] 134/8–11.

[3] XII, 7, 23–24, 13, 14.

[4] 272/1–23.

[5] VII. 2. 4–9, 28–77.

[6] III. 43, 46, 50–53, 55.

[7] IV. 112. 90–94.

[8] IV, 112, 90–94.

[9] *Pūrvakhaṇḍa*, 92/26–28.

[10] 93/109.

[11] *Vā.* 104/2–11; *Bhāg* XII. 7. 23–24; *Pad.* IV. 112. 90–94.

[12] HIL. I 553, and note 2.

[13] *Ibid.* p. 553.

6. In the *Vāyu* list, the order is altogether different and the names of only sixteen Purāṇas are given. The list starts with the *Matsya* and ends with the *Skanda*, and instead of the popular terms *Garuḍa* and *Varāha* *Vainteya* and *Śaukara* are used.

One Ādika is also added, which is not enumerated as an independent Purāṇa elsewhere. The *Brahma* occuring first in the lists is sometimes called *Ādi*, but some other Purāṇas as well lay claim to the privilege of being first[1]. In the *Nārada*, in about seventeen chapters, the summary of the contents of the eighteen Purāṇas is also given[2] In most of the Purāṇic texts that give the list of the eighteen Purāṇas, even the number of *ślokas* occurring in each Purāṇa is given[3], but it does not agree with that of the extant texts, which are mostly shorter.

7. *Threefold Classifications* : In course of time, when the Purāṇic literature grew voluminous as more and more sectarian matter came to be interpolated into it, the religious critics began to classify it on the basis of its advocating the worship of a particular deity, generally one of the Hindu trinity, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Then again, the functions of these three gods being respectively creation, preservation and destruction, they came to be associated with the three *Guṇas* (constituents of elements) *Rajas*, *Satva* and *Tamas* respectively. Thus, sometimes the Purāṇas came to be classified on the basis of three *Guṇas*. According to the *Padma*[4], the six *Śaiva*

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[1] *Ibid*. N. 553, also note 4.

[2] Chapters 92–109.

[3] *Vā* 104/2–11; Mats. 53/12–58; *Agn*. 272/; *Bhāg*. XII. 13. 4–9; *Skan* VII. 2. 28–77; *Bṛ Vai*. *IV*. 133. 11–21; *Nār*, *Pūrvakhaṇḍa*, 92/24–28.

[4] *Uttarādhyāya*, 263/81–85.

Purāṇas–*Matsya*, *Kūrma*, *Liṅga*, *Śiva*, *Skanda* and *Agni* are *Tāmasa*, the six *Vaiṣṇava* Purāṇas — the *Viṣṇu*, *Nārada*, *Bhāgavata*, *Garuḍa*, *Padma* and *Varāha* are *Sāttvika* ; and the six — the *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Bhaviṣya*, *Vāmana* and *Brahma*, being dedicated to the god Brahmā, are *Rājasa*. The *Garuḍa*[1] also gives the classification, but with a slight modification. The *Bhāgavata*, *Viṣṇu*, *Garuḍa*, *Matsya*, *Kūrma* and *Yāyu* are described as *Sāttvika*. And of these six, the *Bhāgavata*, *Viṣṇu* and *Garuḍa* are extolled as superior, beeause they are the object of special favour of the god Hari or Viṣṇu. It is noteworthy, here, that in the list of the *Sāttvika* Purāṇas the *Vāyu*, otherwise known as *Śiva*, is also included, though its rightful place would be in the category of *Tāmasa* Purāṇas The *Skanda*, *Padma*, *Vāmana*, *Varāha*, *Agni* and *Bhaviṣya* are *Rājasa*, whereas the *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Liṅga*, *Brahma-vaivartaka*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Brahma* and *Āditya* are described as *Tāmasa*. But the widely accepted and more general classification is based on the principal of edification of one of the three deities of Hindu trinity, as already mentioned. Thus, it would seem that the three gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva would, respectively, be the object of adoration in the three groups of the Purāṇas. But the two gods Viṣṇu and Śiva attained greater prominence which gave currency to the view that the Purāṇas advocate the worship of either Viṣṇu or Śiva. In actual practice, too, *Vaiṣṇava* and *Śaiva* sects were very popular during the early centuries of the Christian era, as also in the mediaeval period. Thus in the words of Wilson[2], it may be remarked ; "Śiva and Viṣṇu, under one or other form, are almost the sole objects that claim the homage of the Hindu in the Purāṇas, departing from the domestic and elemental ritual of the Vedas and exhibiting a sectarial fervour and exclusiveness not traceable in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and to a qualified extent in the *Mahābhārata*. They are no longer authorities for Hindu belief as a whole :

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1. *Brahma-Kāṇḍa*, I 43, 46, 50–53, 55.
2. *Viṣṇ. Int.* N, V.

they are special guides for separate and sometimes conflicting branches of it; compiled for the purpose of promoting the preferential or in some cases the sole worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva." According to certain later texts in some of the Purāṇas,[1] in addition to the three deities, some others like Devī, Agni, Savitā etc. also became the objects of edification. Besides, the number allotted to a particular god is not kept uniform; sometimes Śiva is described as being edified in ten Purāṇas. Thus, to all appearances, the Purāṇas advocate devotion to a particular deity. But a critical examination of the Purāṇic literature clearly shows how the same Purāṇa advocates the worship of more than one deity belonging to the same sect or deities of different sects, among whom one is supreme.

8. *Pañca-lakṣaṇa definition*: In the *Amarakośa*[2], Purāṇa is called *Pañca-lakṣaṇa*, and is defined as comprising five characteristics[3]. These five characteristics are also referred to in most of the extant Purāṇas[4]. According to this definition a Purāṇa must deal with five topics *viz Sarga* (creation), *Pratisarga* (recreation i. e. the periodical annihilation and renewal of the worlds), *Vaṁśa* (genealogies of gods and sages,), *Manvantarāṇi* (the Manu – periods of time, i. e. the great periods, each of which has a Manu or primeval ancestor of the human race), and *Vaṁśānucarita*, (the history of the dynasties *viz.* the early and the later dynasties, the origins of which are traced back to the sun and the moon, consequently known as solar and lunar). When the extant Purāṇas are examined in the light of this *Pañca-lakṣaṇa* definition, it is clearly seen how most of them do not keep near the definition, while some of the earlier ones *viz.* the *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu*, *Matsya* and *Brahmāṇḍa*, keep close to the *Pañca-lakṣaṇa* ideal but are not

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[1] *Skan. Kedārakhaṇḍa.*

[2] III, 1, 77.

[3] *Amar*, I, 6, 5.

[4] *Vā* IV, 10–11; *Mats* 53/65; *Viṣṇ.* III 6. 25; *Gar.* I. 125. 14; *Bhavi* I. 2. 4–5; *Varā*, II. 4; *Bhāg.* XII. 7. 8–10.

in entire agreement with it. What is specially significant of almost all the Purāṇas is their sectarian character i. e. their dedication to the cult of some god or other. Thus, the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* definition takes no note of sectarian matter. Hence, it may be inferred that the sectarian tinge of the Purāṇas may have been developed after the definition was formulated. This may also give some clue as to the period when the definition was evolved, as will be noted in the subsequent chapters.

9. *Ten characteristics* : This new phase in the development of the Purāṇic literature necessitated a new definition for the Purāṇas. Hence, efforts were made at replacing the old definition by a new one. In the *Brahmavaivarta*[1], it is said that the five characteristics are meant only for the Up-purāṇas, while the Mahā-purāṇas possess ten characteristics including the adoration of Viṣṇu and other gods individually, as also an account of *Mokṣa*. The *Bhāgavata*[2] likewise mentions ten characteristics in two places, where the original definition is amplified to meet the new requirements.

10. *Contents, Gāthās* : A perusal of the extant Purāṇic literature shows the varied nature of its contents which may be analysed as under :—(i) *Gāthā* and *Ākhyāna* or legendary accounts, (ii) *Vaṁśa* or genealogy of the Vedic seers and the kings, (iii) Mythology, (iv) Cosmogony, (v) *Dharmaśāstra* matter, (vi) popular religious beliefs, and (vii) miscellaneous topics. In the Purāṇas, there occur several allusions

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[1] IV, 133, 6–9 (i) The following are the Purāṇas that confirm to the old definition mentioning the five characteristics — *Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Padma* and *Bhāgavata*. (ii) The following are the Purāṇas which do not do so and extend the scope of their activity very much leaning towards sectarianism.—*Bhaviṣya, Garuḍa, Nārada, Skanda, Brahma, Brahmavaivarta, Kūrma, Agni, Varāha, Linga, Vāmana.*

[2] XII, 7, 9–10 : सर्गोऽस्याथ विसर्गश्च वृत्ती रक्षान्तराणि च । वंशो वंशानुचरितं संस्थाहेतुरपाश्रयः । मन्वन्तरेशानुकथा निरोधो मुक्तिराश्रयः ॥”

to old traditions being handed down since long in the form of songs, e. g. the songs of kings Yayāti[1], Māndhātā[2], Arjuna Kārtavīrya[3], Alarka[4], Devāvṛadha[5] and others. That the old traditions embodied in the Gāthās were being handed down from generation to generation is attested to by the frequent use in the Purāṇas of expressions like *Smṛtam*[6] ('remembered') *Anuśuśrumaḥ*[7] ('we have heard of it') , *Itinaḥ*[8] *śrutam* ('so we have heard'), *Yasya śloko adyāpi Gīyate*[9] ('whose *śloka* is sung even now') and *Atrānuvaṁśa ślokaḥ*[10] ('here is a *śloka* handed down from generation to generation) . Besides these expressions, there are others[11] as well, which clearly establish that there was a regular practice of singing laudatory songs of great and heroic kings of yore, and these songs may have, possibly, formed a part of a particular *Ākhyāna*.

11. *Ākhyāna* : The Purāṇas describe several *Ākhyānas* and *Upākhyānas*, of which the more important ones are those pertaining to (i) Pururavas-Urvaśī[12], which is referred to also in the *Ṛgveda*[13], *Śatapatha*[14] *Brāhmaṇa* and finally adopted for the

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1. *Vā*. 93/94–101; *Bḍ*. III, 68, 96–103; *Viṣṇ*. IV, 10, 8–10; *Mats* 34/10–12.
2. *Vā*. 88/67–88; *Bḍ*. III, 63. 69–70.
3. *Vā*. 94/19 ff; *Bḍ*; III 69. 19 ff. *Mats*. 43/23 ff; *Br. Vai*. XIII, 170 ff, *Pad*. V, 125 ff.
4. *Vā*. 92/66–67; *Bḍ*. III. 67–70, 71; *Br Vai*. XI, 51–53.
5. *Vā*. 96/13–16. *Bḍ*. XV, 41–44.
6. *Vā*. 65/75; 99/190–191; *Bḍ*. I, 32, 122; *Br. Vai*. X, 56.
7. *Vā*. 92/174; 96/123; *Bḍ*. II. 36. 201; III. 71. 124; *Br. Vai*. IV, 95.
8. *Vā*. 94/51; *Mat*. 25/4.
9. *Viṣṇ*. IV, 11, 15–16.
10. *Ibid* IV. 22, 12–13.
11. *Bḍ*. II, 63, 69–70; *Ibid* II, 71, 14; *Mats* 44/57–58. *Ibid* 44/40–41.
12. *Vā*, Chap. 91, *Mats* chap. XXIV, *Viṣṇ*. IV, 6.
13. X, 95; I, 31, 4.
14. XI, 5, 1.

drama *Vikramorvaśīyam* by the great poet Kalidāsa, (ii) Yayāti-carita[1], (iii) Bhārgava-Paraśurām-Carita[2], (iv) Sahasrārjuna-Kārtavīrya-Carita[3], (v) Hariścandra-Carita[4], (vi) Vena or Pṛthu-Carita[5], (vii) Dhruva-Carita[6], (viii) Prahlāda-Carita[7], (ix) Sāvitri-Satyavān-Ākhyāna[8], (x) Rāma Dāśarathi-Carita[9], (xi) Kṛṣṇa-Carita[10] etc. These and several others lie interspersed in the various Purāṇas, many of which are also found in the two epics. From all this, it may be inferred that from time immemorial, several *Ākhyānas* may have existed in the form of a floating popular literature, and in course of time, the Purāṇas on the one hand and the epics on the other freely adopted them to their needs. Thus, it is clear, from earliest times the Ākhyānas embodying the deeds of great and heroic personalities were in existence, and when the Purāṇic literature began to assume a definite form, most of the then current Ākhyānas came to be included in them. With the growth in the number of the Purāṇas, the Ākhyānas so adopted got various versions, besides some new Ākhyānas of mytho-historical character came to be added at a later stage, bringing in their train a good many Upākhyānas, which are mostly sectarian. This new growth of Ākhyānas and Upākhyānas belongs to a later phase of the development of the Purāṇic literature, which will be noticed subsquently.

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[1] *Vā*. Chap. 93; *Mats*. Chap. 25; *Viṣṇu*, IV, 10.

[2] *Bd*. II. 22–34.

[3] *Vā*. Chap. 94; *Mats*. chap. 43–44; *Mārk*, Chap. 17–18; *Viṣṇ*. IV, 11.

[4] *Vā*. Chap. 88, *Mārk* Chap. VII–VIII.

[5] *Viṣṇ*. I, 13.

[6] *Ibid*. I, 11–12.

[7] *Ibid*. I, 17–21.

[8] *Mats* Chap. 207–214.

[9] *Vā*. Chap. 88.

[10] *Ibid*, Chap. 97; *Mats*. Chap. 47; *Viṣṇ*. IV, 1, 38.

12. *Genealogy* : The genealogies occupy a prominent place in the extant Purāṇas. Nearly all of them give these lists fully, with the exception of the late *Varāha, Vāmana, Skanda, Nāradiya, Brahmavaivarta* and the *Bhaviṣya*. These genealogical accounts are prominently described in the *Vāyu*[1], *Matsya*[2], *Brahmāṇḍa*[3], *Viṣṇu*[4], *Brahma*[5] and *Padma*[6]. These genealogical accounts include the pedigrees of the important families of the vedic seers and the royal dynasties of ancient India, both solar and lunar. Thus, from very early times there existed a large stock of genealogical accounts, from which the Purāṇas as well as the epics, freely borrowed. The epics also contain genealogical lists, though in somewhat changed version[7]. The Purāṇas have preserved the genealogies of solar and lunar dynasties, as also their branch lines. The solar dynasty was founded by Manu's sons Ikṣvāku, Nābhagodiṣṭa, Śaryāti etc. who established their lines respectively in the north, east and west. Ikṣvāku founded the main solar line in which great kings e. g. Kākustha, Śrāvasta, Hariścandra, Mandhātṛ, Sagara, Asamañjas, Raghu, Rāma etc. were born. From this line, there branched off another line from Nimi, the second son of Ikṣvāku. This line ruled in the east and was famous for its philosopher kings. The lunar dynasty was founded by Purūravas Aila, the son of Manu's daughter Ilā. Yayāti, fourth in descent from the founder, was a very important ruler, whose five sons Yadu, Turvaśa, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru originated five lines in different parts of India. Pūru, the youngest, continued the main line, in which were born great kings like Ap-

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[1] Chap. 65, 84, 96, 99.

[2] Chap. 11, 43–50.

[3] III, 1–2, 8.

[4] IV, 1–124.

[5] Chap. 5–15.

[6] V. *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, Chap. 12–13.

[7] *AIHT* p. 82.

ratiratha, Duṣyanta, Bharata, Vitatha Bharadvāja, etc. Yadu, the eldest, established his line, in the south in which illustrious kings like Mahiṣmat, Kṛtavīrya, Arjuna etc. were born.

13. *Mythology* : The extent Purāṇas contain a good number of mythological stories about various gods, goddesses and demons, which represent various chronological and cultural strata. Of these the earliest and perhaps the most important for tracing the cultural evolution of the Hindus from the earliest times are the accounts of Devāsura-saṅgrāma[1] (fight between gods and demons), Manu and the story of his daughter Ilā[2], Dakṣa Prajāpati and his daughter[3], Śiva legends[4] including the marriage of Śiva and Pārvati and the consequent birth of Kumāra or Skanda, a theme that inspired the great poet Kālidāsa to write his Mahākāvya Kumāra-sambhavam, the various incarnations of Viṣṇu[5], and legends about Brahmā[6]. All these accounts fill so many pages of the Purāṇic literature. The roots of most of these accounts may well be traced to earliest literature, the Brāhmaṇas[7] and the Vedas[8]. The Devāsura-saṅgrāma (the fight between the gods and the demons), which could be traced to the Brāhmaṇa[9] literature may further be traced to Indra's fight with demons like Vṛtra and Śambara[10].

14. *Trinity* : *Viṣṇu* :The mythology of the Purāṇas revolves, more or less, round the three important gods of Hindu

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1. Viṣṇ. III. 17.41; III. 18.33; *Pad.* V, 13, 376 ff; Mats. chap. 47.
2. *Vā.* 85/27; *Mats.* XI, 40; XIII, 19; *Bḍ.* III, 60, 27.
3. *Hari* I, 101 ff; *Viṣṇu.* IV; *Mats.* XIII.
4. Relevant Chapters in the *Vā. Bḍ. Mats.* and other Śaivite Puaāṇas.
5. *Mats.* Chap. 259–260; *SPRH* pp. 79–80.
6. *Ibid* pp. 106–183 ff.
7. *HIL* Vol. I pp. 101, 208.
8. *Ibid.* p. 226 ff. 311 ff.
9. *Ait.* I, 14 *HIL.* Vol. I, p. 187.
10. *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 83 ff; *Ṛg.*, I 132; II, 12.

trinity Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, besides several other minor deities like Varuṇa, Sūrya, Agni etc. The very names of the Purāṇas are given after the names of various gods, most of whom may easily be traced to earlier literature of the Brāhmaṇas and the Vedas. The conception of Tri-deva (trinity) which is found formulated in the Purāṇas and which is responsible for so much of mythological account in them, had not attained its final shape during the Vedic period. Of the three gods, Viṣṇu alone had attained some development in the *Ṛgvedic* period, where, in a few hymns, he is praised and a beautiful picture of his abode is drawn, which may have, perhaps, inspired the conception of heaven or *Viṣṇu-loka* depicted in the Purāṇic literature. In the three strides of Viṣṇu, perhaps, there is the seed of the Vāmana incarnation of Viṣṇu, as developed in the Purāṇas. Thus the cult of Viṣṇu may, perhaps, be traced to the *Ṛgveda*, but its growth is entirely post-Vedic.

15. *Siva* : Śiva, the third of the trinity, had not come into prominence in the *Ṛgvedic* period. It was during the period of the later Saṁhitās[1] that the conception was evolved. In the *Ṛgveda* and *Yajurveda* in particular, Śiva appears as Rudra several times, and even afterwards the god did not fail in commanding greater attention and popularity till the Purāṇas took up the conception and evolved it in the light of the changed circumstances.

16. *Brahmā* :—The conception of Brahmā was still undeveloped in the Ṛgvedic period. The word Brahman in the *Ṛgvada*[2] merely meant 'prayer' or a priest, according to the accent and it was derived from the root *Bṛh* ('to increase'). But references are, sometimes, made to Brahmaṇaspati[3], 'the lord of prayers', who is invoked in some of the hymns in the *Ṛgveda*. The Brahmā of the Purāṇas appears as the creator of the universe, and Viṣṇu and Śiva function as

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[1] *Vāj*. XVI, *Tai. S*. IV, 5.

[2] *HIL*. Vol. I. pp. 247–248.

[3] *Ibid*. Vol. I, p. 100.

sustainer and destroyer respectively. Thus, with regard to the mythological accounts of the Purāṇas, it may, easily, be stated that they revolve round the pivot of the trinity—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and the two of these gods may be traced to the earlier period, the Purāṇas having materially expanded and improved upon earlier ideas. In the light of this, it may be remarked that for their mythological accounts, the Purānas have, originally, borrowed from the earlier religious literature including the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas.

17. *Cosmogony* :—As for the cosmogonical accounts in the Purāṇas, a critical study reveals that all possible material available in the domain of philosophy, mythology, superstition etc. was freely utilised. These aacounts show how the Purāṇas enter into very minute details about creation, which is one of the five topics, according to the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* definition, they are expected to treat. The cosmoginical ideas as adopted in the Purāṇas badly lack a systematic presentation. Various conceptions, representing different conceptual strata, have been huddled together in an attempt to make some sort of cosmogonical account. Mythology is mixted up with cosmogony. According to the Purāṇic cosmogony[1], one of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva or the other gods is assigned the supreme position of a creator. As Hiraṇyagarbha, the god embodies within himself the universe of mobile and immobile things. He exists even before creation. Pradhāna, Puruṣa and Kāla comprising his form are the causes and expressions of creation, sustenance and destruction respectively. He is manifest in gross elements, subtle objects and in several other forms. On the occasion of creation, from the equipoise of the Guṇas, presided over by *Kṣetrajña*, springs up that which manifests those Guṇas. And then proceed from the Pradhana Mahata, Ahaṅkāra Pañca-tanmātra (five subtle elements.), Pañcatattvas (five gross elements), the ten deities, the universe and several other forms. Thus, the Sāṅkhya scheme of evolution is generally adopted. This complicated scheme

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[1] *Ibid*. pp. 529 ff.

of creation comprises mythological notions and philosophical speculation of a period when the different schools of philosophy were being systematised. The sixth century B. C. was a period of great philosophical upheaval in India. Men's minds were directed towards the ways and means of liberating the soul from its bondage. An idea of this philosophical upheaval is easily got from the Upaniṣads and earlier Buddhist literature. Soul, god, creation, matter etc. become the object of common discussion. This philosophical speculation embodying cosmogonical views was an important source of the Purāṇic cosmogony.

18. *Dharmaśāstra-matter* :—A study of the references to Purāṇa in the Sūtra literature clearly shows that by the 4th century B. C., the time generally assigned to the *Gṛhya* and *Dharma-sūtras*, the Purāṇa had come to be regarded authoritative as a religious treatise or a social code, the recital of which was considered to be sanctimonious.[1] In the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*[2], the Purāṇa is referred to in four places. The first passage as translated by Buhler reads[3] — 'now they quote also in a Purāṇa the following two verses : "The Lord of creatures has declared, that food offered unasked and brought by the giver himself, may be eaten, though (the giver be) a sinner, provided the gift has not been announced before hand. The manes of ancestors of that man who spurns such food, do not eat (his oblations) for fifteen years, nor does the fire carry his offerings (to the gods)". 'Buhler has traced these verses to the *Manusmṛti*[4] with slight variations, which in purport, do not differ from those quoted in the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtras*. These verses have not, yet, been traced to the extant Purāṇic literature, vast as it is. Even if they were to be traced, it

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[1] *Ibid*. p. 526.

[2] *HP*. Vol. I p. 167; I, 6, 19, 13; I, 10, 297; II 9, 22, 3–6.

[3] *SBE*., II, 70.

[4] IV, 248–249.

would be difficult to assume that the Purāṇa in which they occur, was the Purāṇa known to Āpastamba. The remaining passages in Buhler's translation[1] are — ' A Purāṇa says," "No guilt attaches to him who smites (or kills) an assailant that intends to injure him; (it is) wrath indeed touches wrath". Verses, with the same import occur in the *Matsya*[2], *Padma*[3] and the *Manusmṛti*[4]. But it is not possible to infer that the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtras* had this or that passage before them when summarizing the Purāṇic dictum. According to Pargiter[5], Āpastamba had *Matsya* verses in mind when summarising the Purāṇic dictum. In the *Gautama Dharmasūtras,*[6] the Purāṇa is referred to in one place along with Itihāsa and at another without it, where proficiency in the Purāṇic as well as other branches of learning is commended. In the Āśvalāyana[7] Gṛhyasūtras, a reference is made to the auspicious Itihāsa-purāṇa stories which are to be related to the members of the family in mourning. A critical study of these references clearly shows how the Purāṇic literature occupied a place of prominence in the social life of the people. It had, more or less, become as authoritative as a treatise on Dharmaśāstra. Its recital, during the period of mourning, shows that it had attained an important position from the religious point of view, when it was expected to give solace and comfort to the departed soul and the bereaved family. This clearly shows that the Purāṇas, by that time, had ceased to be merely of historical and mythological interest, they had also attained the position, more or less, of a social code. A perusal of the extant

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[1] *SBE*. II. 90; II, 150-157; II, 155.

[2] 227/116-118.

[3] V, 45, 54-56.

[4] VIII. 350-351.

[5] *AIHT*, p. 44 : "The agreement in phraseology shows that this is evidently the passage that Āpastamba had in mind".

[6] I, 8, 6.

[7] IV, 6, 6. I.

Purāṇas shows that they contain so much matter which may easily be transferred to the Dharmaśāstra literature. This supplies a clue to another important source of the Purnāṇic literature. The chapters in the present Purāṇas, dealing with Varṇāśramadharma, Śrāddha, Kalpa, Rājadharma and similar other topics clearly indicate that, with the growth in popularity of the Purāṇic literature, matter from the then existent Dharmaśāstra literature came to be embodied in the Purāṇas. Most of the Dharmaśāstra matter pertaining to *Ācāra* was added to the later Purāṇas, whereas in the case of the earlier Purāṇas like the *Vāyu* and others merely general topics like Verṇāśrama-dharma, Śrāddha-Kalpa etc., in general, were added. This suggests that the process of incorporating into the Purāṇas matter from this source continued for some time, till they attained their present form about the 10th century of the Christian era.

19. *Purāṇas as source of Dharma* :—The writers on Dharmaśāstra literature like Aparārka, Ballālasena, Hemādri etc. regard the Purāṇas as sources of Dharma, and do not fail to quote from them. Kulluka, the well-known commentator of the *Manusmṛti*, regards certain passages from the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* as "glosses on Manu."[1] Thus, the later Purāṇas borrowed important ideas and notions from the Dharmaśāstra literature and put them in a very popular form. But as this process progressed, passages from the Dharmaśāstra literature came to be incorporated into them even *verbatim*.[2] Thus it may easily be realised, how much are the later Purāṇas indebted to the Dharmaśāstra literatuee.

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[1] *HD* Vol. I, p. 161.

[2] *Ibid*. p. 162, "Almost the whole of *Vyavahāra* section in the *Yājñavatkyasmṛti* occurs in chapters 253–258 of the *Agni-purāṇa* (*Ānandaśrama* edition), and many verses in chapter 253 are identical with the verses of the *Nāradasmṛti*. The *Garuḍa-purāṇa* (chap. 93–106) contains about 400 verses that are taken from the first and third section of the *Yājñavalkya* though not in the same order."

20. *Popular religious notions* :—In the final phase of the development of the Purāṇic literature, sectarian matter came to be added to it, and this was the chief destinguishing feature in the case of the later ones among the eighteen Purāṇas as their names themselves suggest.[1] Devotional and laudatory verses in praise of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā or some other deity of the Hindu pantheon, constitute the kernal of sectarianism. In the case of the earlier Purāṇas, the sectarian matter is not of great consequence, but in the later Purāṇas and more so in the case of the Up-Purāṇas sectarianism is the predominant feature. Under sectarianism, could easily be included the topics dealing with *Stuti* or praise of a particular deity, *Ś*iva, Viṣṇu or some other god, his various incarnations, the account of sacred places (*Tīrtha*) depicting their importance (Māhātmya), various religious vows (*Vratas*) etc. A critical perusal of the sectarian matter, as embodied in the extant Purāṇic literature, clearly indicates that certain devotional writers being impelled by their love and devotion for their deity, wrote certain chapters or complete texts in adoration of their particular deity and conveniently incorporated them into the various Purāṇas.[2] This is how the Purāṇas progressed through the process of development and attained the extant bulk. This also unfolds the mystery of the rise and development of a vast literature of the Up-purāṇas and the various *Māhātmyas* belonging to them. Thus, the cult of Bhakti, during the period of its predominance, proved to be a great source of inspiration to various devotional writers, whose writings came to be freely embodied in the Purāṇas. And hence, the Bhakti cult and the literature inspired by it, may easily be regarded as a great source of supplying subject matter and inspiration to the Purāṇas, and as such it helped in the increase of their bulk.

21. *Miscellaneous topics* :—Besides the topics discussed above, there were others as well, from which the Purāṇas did

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[1] *HIL*. Vol. I, pp. 530–533.

[2] *Ibid*. Vol. I, pp. 530–586.

not fail to borrow a few chapters. This is in general true of the later Purāṇas, in which the chapters giving the geographical accout, description of heaven and hell, various ill omens, an account of astronomy, astrology, music, architecture, poetics etc. have been incorporated. Matter for all these chapters must, necessarily, have been derived from the current notions and ideas about the science, art or a branch of learning, with which a particular chapter is concerned. The chapters on such topics as prosody and Alaṅkāra came to be added to prove the *Sarvaṁkaśatvam* of the Purāṇas and the *Sarvajñatvam* of its anthor i.e. Vyāsa.

22. *Authorship* :—As to the authorship of the Purāṇic literature, it is very difficult to come to any definite conclusion; for the literature, as it stands today, comprises several chronological strata, and hence it may be inferred that several authors from different ages may have contributed to the growth of this vast literature. But according to the tradition, which is very popular and widely accepted, Vyāsa, the son of Satyavatī, is regarded as the author of all the eighteen Purāṇas.[1] According to the tradition, preserved in the Purāṇas themselves, Purāṇa was originally one, as formulated by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, who arranged Veda into four and was thus called Veda Vyāsa[2]. Then Vyāsa, erudite as he was in the knowledge of ancient lore, compiled Purāṇa-saṁhitā out of *Ākhyāna*, *Upākhyāna*, *Gāthā* and *Kalpajokti*, and taught it to his desciple Romaharṣaṇa or Lomsharsana, who, in his turn, taught it, in six versions, to his six desciples Ātreya Sumati, Kāśyapa Akṛtavraṇa, Bhāradvāja Agnivarcas, Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruṇa, Sāvarṇi Somadatti and Suśarman Śāṁśapāyana[3]. He taught the original Purāṇa to his son Ugraśravas[4] also, and the *Sauti* is the narrator in some of the extant Purāṇas.

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[1] *Mats.* 50/73.

[2] *Vā.* 60/11–16, 21; *Bḍ.* II, 11–16, 21; *Viṣṇ.* III, 4, 7–10.

[3] *Vā.* 61/55–62; *Bḍ.* II, 35, 68–70; *Viṣṇ.* III, 6, 17–19; *Agn.* 27/10–13.

[4] *Bḍ.* IV, 4, 67; *Pad.* V. 1, 2, 14.

23. With the development of the Purāṇic literature in the sectarian phase the Purāṇas began to attain divine authority and came to be regarded on a par with the Vedas. And consequently, divine origin began to be assigned to them. It was affirmed that of all the *Śāstras*, the Purāna was first remembered by Brahmā, and then came forth the Vedas.[1] Thus, for the orthodox section of the Hindu society, the Purāṇas, though generally assigned to Vyāsa, are, more or less, of divine origin. Vyāsa was the editor and composer of the actual words, the matter was divine.

24. But a critical study of the various phases of development, through which the Purānic literature passed before it attained its extant form, gives an idea of the various sources of this literature, in the light of which, it may be possible to form an idea of the authorship of the different portions in the Purāṇas, which may be assigned to different chronological periods. During this long period of development, the Purāṇas have passed through so many hands that, only with the exception of pertions of very late origin, it is not possible to say whether the linguistic garb of a particular portion is just the same as assigned to it by its original author, or the subsequent editors did not fail to make their own additions; not only that, but they also tried to improve upon the portions from the pen of unknown authors. This fact also is to be borne in mind while considering the authorship of the Purāṇas. Thus, the problem of the authorship of the Purāṇas is very much complicated.

25. *Sources :*—The evidence for the sources of the Purāṇas would be two - fold, (i) internal, (ii) external. The internal evidence of the Purāṇas is of great importance in fixing their sources; but it lies scattered over this voluminous literature and needs a clever and careful sorting. This consists of the references to the manner in which the Purāṇa was originally compiled and handed over by Vyāsa to Sūta or Sauti, and the *Pañca-lakṣaṇa* and other definitions taking note of subsequent

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[1] *Mats.* 53/3.

additions to the original Purāṇa. The external evidence is derived from the references to the Purāṇic literature in other writings ranging from the Vedas down to the epics and the Dharmaśāstras. In these works, the manner, in which the Purāṇic literature is mentioned, throws some sidelight on the nature of the original sources. In this connection, the references to Purāṇa in the *Atharvaveda*, the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads are of great value; for they are helpful in ascertaining as to how the original Purāṇa was constituted. Amarasiṁha's definition of the five characteristics of Purāṇa, also mentioned in various extant Purāṇas, is of immense value, because it gives a definite clue to the sources of the Purāṇic literature.[1] A critical examination of both internal and external evidence yields the same conclusion about the sources of the Purāṇic literature. Thus, it may be remarked that the memorable verse occurring in the Purāṇas[2]-*Ākhyānaiścāpyupākhyānairgāthābhiḥ Purāṇa-saṁhitām Cakre Purāṇārthaviśāradaḥ*, and that occurring in the *Amarakośa* as well as the various Purāṇas—*Sargaśca pratisargaśca Vaṁśa-manvantarāṇi Ca Vaṁśānucaritaiñ Caiva Purāṇam Pañcalakṣaṇam*, give a correct clue to the sources of the Purāṇas. Evidence obtained from other literatery sources, also, lends support to the conclusions based on the two verses quoted above. According to the first verse, the original Purāṇa was compiled out of *Ākhyānas* (old stories), *Upākhyānas* (smaller stories or episodes), *Gāthās* (songs) and *Kalpajokti* (account of cosmic ages), and according to the other verse the five topics, which Purāṇa should deal, are *Sarga* (Primary creation), *Pratisarga* (Secondary creation), *Vaṁśa* (Genealogy), *Manvantara* (Manu-periods) and *Vaṁśānucarita* (account of the ruling dynasties). Thus, *Sarga*, *Pratisarga* and *Manvantarāṇi* may easily be accomodated under *Kalpajokti*, whereas *Vaṁśa* and *Vaṁśānucarita* under *Ākhyāna*, *Upā-*

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[1] *Vā*. IV. 10–11; *Bḍ*. I, 1, 37–38; *Mats*. LIII, 65; *Viṣṇ*. III. 6, 25; *Bhāg*. XII, 7, 8–10; *Bhavi*. 1/2, 2/4–5; *Ag*. I, 14; *Varā*. II, 4; *Gar*. I, 125, 14; *Kū*. I. 1, 12.

[2] *Vā*. IX, 21; *Bḍ*. II, 34, 21; *Viṣṇ*. III, 6, 15.

khyānā and *Gatha*. Both the verses, more or less, look upon the same thing from a different angle of vision. But it has to be borne in mind that the first verse refers to Purāṇa as it was originally constituted in the earlier stages of its development, and the second verse speaks of Purāṇa at a period of its development when the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* definition was formulated. Thus, with reference to the Purāṇas in their present form even these two verses would prove quite inadequate, for, in course of time, the Purāṇas drew freely on different sources and attained their present bulk. This will, naturally, add to the sources of the extant Purāṇic literature.

26. *Old Traditions—Ākhyāna, Upākhyāna, Kalpajokti* :—An analytic study of the Purāṇas shows how Ākhyāna, Upākhyāna, Kalpajokti etc. must have been preserved in the form of traditions by those who were interested in their preservation. Some of the Purāṇas, while discussing the duties of the *Sūta*[1], say that a *Sūta* was duty-bound to preserve the genealogies of the gods, sages and heroic kings as also the account of great men. Besides the *Sūta*, *Māgadha* and *Vandin* are also mentioned[2] and they are assigned the duty of preserving the old traditions. How the functions of these three could be distinguished is not easy to ascertain. Pargiter[3] relying on certain verses of the *Padma*[4] cosiders *Sūta* to be one well-versed in the Purāṇic lore, *Māgadha* a genealogist, and *Vandin* eulogist.[5] The names *Sūta*, *Māgadha*, *Vandin* etc. are not known merely to the Purāṇic but also to the epic and classical literature. Even in the *Śukla Yajurveda*,[6] the *Sūta* and *Māgadha* are mentioned along with persons following different professions. This reference clearly shows that the institution of *Sūta*, *Māgadha* etc. was very old

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[1] *Vā* I, 31–32; *Pad* V, 1, 27–28.

[2] *Vā*. 63/147–148; *Bḍ*. II, 36, 172–173.

[3] *AIHT*. p. 17.

[4] II, 27, 27, 71–72, 85–86.

[5] *AIHT*. pp. 15-18.

[6] Chap. XXX, 7.

and as such, preservation of old and valuable traditions must have become customary since a very early period. Thus the traditions, preserved by the royal bards (*Sūta*, *Māgadha*, *Vandin*) and others would be the chief source of the Purāṇic literature. Since the Aryan expansion in India and with the growth of settled and civilised life among the Aryans, traditions about the heroes and other leading personalities must have grown up, which, in course of time, may have been put together in a systematic form.

27. *Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya Tradition* :—Pargiter[1] classifies these traditions into two groups, (i) Brāhmaṇa or priestly, and (ii) Kṣatriya, or Kingly, and affirms that "the traditions about kings and those about rishis must have been correspondingly separate, that is, there must have been two great streams of distinct traditions; Kṣatriya tradition and Brāhmaṇic tradition."[2] While discussing the distinctive features of the two currents of old traditions, he concludes,[3] 'little trust can be placed in the Vadic literature as regards any matter which the brāhmaṇs found awkward for their pretensions." He even charges the Brāhmaṇas for suppression of facts,[4] regards their literature utterly unreliable and thinks that the Kṣatriya tradition embodied in the epics and the Purāṇas are very important for the reconstruction of the history of ancient India; for, according to him, they contain genuine germs of old historical matter. Reliability or otherwise of the Vedic literature will be discussed in the subsequent pages. But, here, it may be remarked that Pargiter has misunderstood the very trend of ancient traditions. The times, when these traditions were taking form, had not, then, witnessed the water-tight compartments of Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas, as was the case subsequently. At that period, the institution of the four social orders (*Varṇa-vyavasthā*)

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[1] *AIHT*. pp. 4–14.

[2] *Ibid*. pp. 5–6.

[3] *Ibid*. p. 10.

[4] *Ibid*. pp. 9–10.

was not evolved. The process of evolution had merely started. For, in the Purāṇas themselves it is found how the scions of the ruling classes were becoming Vedic sages and thus laying the foundations of illustrous Bhāhmaṇa families. The Purāṇas make a frequent mention of *Kṣatriya-Brāhamaṇas*[1] (*Kṣatropetā Dvijātayaḥ*) in their genealogical accounts when some of the illustrious Vedic sages are traced to Kṣatriya origin. Viśvāmitra, Māndhātā, Saṅkṛti, Kavi, Kāśya, Purukutsa, Śala, Gṛtsamada, Ārṣṭisena, Ajāmīḍha, Bharga, Vyoma, Kakṣivān, Uṣija, Śiśira, Rathantara, Śaunaka, Viṣṇuvṛddha etc., according to the Purāṇas were originally kings, but as a result of their penance became Ṛṣis (composers of Vedic hymns). Some of the very illustrious families of the *Ṛṣis* rose from some of the above mentioned rulers, e. g. *Gārgāḥ*, *Sāṁkṛtyaḥ*, *Kāṇvayānaḥ* etc. These references throw a flood of light on the process of Brahmanisation silently working behind the wars and fights of the Kṣatriyas. Some of the kings from both the solar and the lunar dynasties were Vedic seers, and as such their names have been preserved in the Vedic literature. Besides, several members of the royal dynasties, who gave rise to important Brāhmaṇa families, played a prominent role in moulding the cultural destinies of the Vedic Aryans. Thus to talk of Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya traditions as quite separate and distinct would be far from truth. The caste-animosities and distinctions were non-existent then; they belong to a later period. As for the Vedas, there is concensus of opinion that they have not been tempered with since their final compilation at the hands of Pārāśarya Vyāsa, and as such their testimony cannot be less reliable. A comparative study of the Vedas and the Purāṇas clearly shows how one supplements the other; the two were never antagonisstic. Throughout the Purāṇic literature the Vedas are extolled, nowhere any disrespect is shown to them. They are always held in highest respect, divine revelation as they were regar-

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1. *Bḍ*. III, 63, 7; III, 67, 64; III, 67, 68, *Mats*. 48/84–86; *Ibid*. 49/33; *Ibid*. 49/38, 39–41; *Ibid*. 49/46–47.

ded. Hence, Pargiter's view about two different and antagonistic currents of ancient traditions is erroneous.

28. *Date of the Purāṇas :*—The earlier scholars stressing the sectarian and religious matter in the Purāṇas, assign a modern date to them generally. Colebrooke[1] relying on the tradition that Bopadeva, the grammarian, was the author of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* assigns it to about thirteenth century A. D. Vans Kennedy[2] thinks that like the *Bhāgavata* the other Purāṇas must be of an equally modern date as the Purāṇas are always held to be eighteen and in most of the Purāṇas the names of the eighteen including the *Bhāgavata* are enumerated. Wilson[3] realised the difficulty of solving the problem of the date of the Purāṇas and thinks that they are works of different ages compiled under different circumstances, 'the precise nature of which we can but imperfectly conjecture from internal evidence and from what we know of history of religious opinion in India'. He takes into consideration the religious matter in the Purāṇas smacking of the present popular forms of Hinduism, which, in his opinion, took shape not earlier than 8th or 9th cent. A. D., the probable date of Śaṅkarācārya, and were perhaps finally established during the period when Rāmānuja (12th Cent. A. D.), Madhvācārya (13th Cent. A. D,) and Vallabhācārya (16th Cent. A. D.) flourished. Thus, he assigns to them 'a very modern date.' According to him, the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* may be assigned to about A. D. 1045. But this view cannot be tenable, as Alberuni[4] writing in A.D, 1030 gives a list of the eighteen Purāṇas as occurring in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. Bāṇa, the author of the *Harṣacarita* (about A. D. 620), refers to a *Purāṇa* described by *Pavana* or *Vāyu*.[5] Dr. Fuhrer thinks that Bāṇa had used *Agni*, *Bhāgavata* and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas*

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1. *AR.* Vol. VIII, p. 467, *MIE.* Vol. I, p. 104.
2. *RNAH.* Chapter IV, pp 19–22.
3. *Viṣṇ. Pr.* p. XVI.
4. Sachau's translation. Vol. I, pp. 130, 131, 264.
5. *HC.* III. p. 238.

as well as the *Vāyu.*[1] Discovery of a Bengal manuscript of the *Skanda-purāṇa*, written in Gupta script, shows that the Purāṇa was in existence in the 7th Cent. A. D[2].

29. References to the Purāṇas occur in the *Milindapañho* (earlier than 300 A. D.[3]). Buhler collects many early quotations from and references to the Purāṇas and points out that 'the account of the future kings in the *Vāyupurāṇa*, *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, *Matsya-purāṇa* and *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* seems to stop with the imperial Guptas and their contemporaries. Thus the Purāṇas, at least, the important ones among them, may have been finalised during the Gupta period.[4] Pargiter interprets the word *Bhaviṣya* occurring in the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Matsya* as the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* and not mere 'future' as Keith[5] thinks, and suggests that the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* in its early form was the original authority from which the *Vāyu*, the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Matsya* derived their dynastic lists and the *Viṣṇu*, and the *Bhāgavata* are the later condensed reductions based on the same.[6] As for the date of the Purāṇas, Pargiter[7] takes into account the historical data available in the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata*, and thinks that the first compilation of the historical matter may have been made in the reign of the Andhra King Yajñaśrī about the end of the second century A. D., that the first certain addition was made in the original *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* about A. D. 260, soon after which it was incorporated in the *Matsya-purāṇa*. This account was extended to the rise of the Gupta kingdom before the year 335, which augmented compilation is what the *Vāyu* and *Brah-*

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1. Trans. VI, Ori. Congress, Vol. III, p. 205.
2. *J. R. A. S.* 1903, p. 193.
3. *SBE.* Vol. XXXV, pp. 6. 247.
4. *I. A.* Vol. XXV (1896), p. 323.
5. *J. R. A. S.* 1914, pp. 1021–31.
6. *D. K. Introduction* pp. VII–IX.
7. *Ibid.* pp. XII, XIII, *E. H. I.* p. 24.

māṇḍa contain and the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata* have condensed.

30. A critical perusal of the *Bhaviṣya* account occurring in the *Matsy-purāṇa*[1] clearly shows that the account ends with the Āndhras, Gardabhillas, Śakas, Muruṇḍas, Yavanas, Tuṣāras, Mlecchas, Ābhīras and Kilakilas. This clearly reflects the political conditions of India after the downfall of the Kushāṇas in the second and third century A. D. The *Matsya* account, thus, ends with the mere mention of Kilakila Kings and no manuscript of the *Matsya* contains anything later. The Āndhra kingdom fell about A. D. 236, thus the *Matsya* account brings the historical narrative down to about the middle of the 3rd century A. D. and no further. The *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* carry the narrative to the rise of the Guptas. The Guptas are mentioned as reigning over the country comprising Prayāga, Śaketa (Ayodhya) and Magadha, that is exactly the territory ruled over by Candragupta I (A. D. 319–20 to 326–30) of the Gupta dynasty. The Nāgas, Maṇidhyānas and others are also mentioned as contemporaries of the Guptas ruling over the neighbouring countries. The account takes no note of Samudragupta's conquests and the Gupta empire. Thus it may be concluded that the account was closed soon after the commencement of the era or by A. D. 333.[2]

31. According to Smith,[3] the Purāṇas in some shape were already authoritative in the 4th century B. C. on the basis of a reference to *Purāṇa* in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, which directs the king to spend his afternoon in the study of *Itihāsa* comprising *Purāṇa*, *Itivṛtta*, *Ākhyāyikā*, *Udāharaṇa*, *Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra*. Jackson thinks that "Megasthenes was acquainted with part, at least, of a Purāṇic cosmogony and with a Purāṇic list of kings and also with a Purāṇic description of the upper and

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[1] Chapter 273/17–26.

[2] *DK. Introduction*, p. XII.

[3] *E. H. I.* p. 24.

the lower world." It is a fair conclusion that he had before him the same *Purāṇa* that has already been shown to have existed from the Vedic times to the second century B. C. and the contents of which are, more or less, reproduced in the more primitive parts of the existing Purāṇas. The earliest part of the Purāṇas, therefore, was compiled not later than the last quarter of the 4th cent. B. C[1].

32. Macdonell[2] regards the Purāṇas as old, perhaps earlier than the *Mahābhārat* and the *Mānusmṛti.* In his opinion, they are connected by many threads with the old law-books (*Smṛitis*) and the Vedas, representing probably a development of older works of the same class. R. C. Hazra[3] has tried to fix up the approximate date of the additions of the *Dharmaśāstra* matter to the Purāṇas. In the case of the *Mārkaṇḍeya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, Matsya* and *Bhāgavata,* such additions were made during the 3rd to 7th century A. D. according to him.

33. *References to Purāṇic Literature :*—The earliest reference to Purāṇic literature in the sense of a literary composition is to be found in the *Atharvaveda*[4], wherein the *Purāṇic* literature is mentioned along with *Ṛk, Sāman, Chandas* and *Yajuṣ,* as produced from *Ucchiṣṭa.* It is also associated with *Itihāsa, Gāthā* and *Nārāśaṁsī*. This clearly shows that there existed during the period pepresented by the *Atharva-veda,* a definite literary form going by the name of *Purāṇa.* In the same Veda, a reference to *Purāṇavid*[5] (possessing the knowledge of *Purāṇa*) also occurs which may be associated with Purāṇa. The word occurs also in the *Mahābhārata*[6] and the Purāṇas[6a] in the sense of

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1. *BBRAS Cent. Vol.* I p. 72.
2. *H. S. L* p. 209.
3. *SPRH* pp. 174–177.
4. XI. 7, 24, XV. 11–12.
5. XI. 8, 7.
6. MBh. II. 40, 472.

6a. *Mat.* 60/1; *Pad. Pātālakhaṇḍa* 111/46, 50.

a person well-versed in Purāṇic lore. In the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Purāṇic* literature is referred to in several places. In the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*[1] the Vedas are described along with *Kalpa, Rahasya, Brāhmaṇa, Upaniṣad, Itihāsa, Anvayākhāta* and *Purāṇa*. In the *Śatapatha*[2] *Brāhmaṇa, Purāṇa* is mentioned with the Vedas and other forms of literature as produced from the breath of Mahābhūta, the primeval Being. In the same Brāhmaṇa[3] at another place Adhvaryu is described as reciting Purāṇa[4] and daily study of the Purāṇic literature along with other branches of learning is recommended[5].

34. In the Upaniṣads[6] also, the Purāṇic literature is referred to in several places. In these references, Purāṇa is mentioned along with other branches of learning. In the Sūtra literature[7] clear and definite references are found to Purāṇic literature.

The *Gṛhyasūtras* generally lay down that during the period of impurity due to a relative's death, accounts of those who enjoyed longevity, and stories from *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* should be heard[8]. More definite information about the Purāṇic literature is obtained from the *Āpastamba Dharma-sūtra*, where verses are quoted from certain Purāṇas which also occur in the *Manu-smṛti*.[9] Then again the same Sūtras[10] make a definite

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[1] I, 10.
[2] XIV. 6, 100, 1.
[3] XIII, 4, 3, 13.
[4] XI, 5, 7, 9.
[5] XI, 5, 6, 8.
[6] *Jai. Up.* I, 53; *Bṛ. Up.* II, 4, 40; IV, 1, 2; IV, 5, 11; *Chā. Up.* III, 4, 1; 2, 4; VII, 2, 1; VII, 7, 1; *Tai. A.* II, 9.
[7] *Śāṅ. Gṛ.* I, 2, 11; *Śāṅ. Śr.* XVI, 2, 27; *Gau. Dh.* I, 8, 6; II, 2, 19, *Āp. Dh.* I, 6, 19, 13; I, 10, 19, 7; II, 9, 23, 3–6; *Āp. Gṛ.* XIV, 4; *Pā. Gṛ.* I, 15, 7.
[8] *Āś. Gṛ.* IV, 6, 8.
[9] *MS.*, IV, 248–249; C. F. *Āp. Dh.* I, 6, 19, 13; I, 10. 29, 7; *AIHT*. Chap. III; *IHQ*. V. VIII. (Dec. 1923) pp. 749–750.
[10] *Āp. Dh.* II, 9, 24, 5–6.

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reference to *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa.* In the words of Buhler[1] the passage would run, "They (the ancestors) live in heaven until the (next) general distruction of created things. (After the destruction of the world, they stay) again in heaven until the (next) general destruction of created things. (After the destruction of the world, they stay) again in heaven, being the seed of the new creation)".

35. Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*[2] mentions Purāṇa under *Itihāsa-Veda*, which includes also *Itivṛtta, Ākhyāyikā, Udāharaṇa, Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra*, and this *Itihāsa-Veda* is assigned equality of position with the *Atharva-Veda*, (the three Vedas-Ṛk, Yajus and Sāman being separetely mentioned as scriptures). The *Arthaśāstra*[3], further, refers to *Itivṛtta* and *Purāṇa*, as necessary to set right a king who goes astray, it also refers to *Paurāṇika* whose function was to rcite *Purāṇa* to him.

36. In the epic[4], too, several references occur to the Purāṇic literature. The *Mahābhārata*[5] refers to a *Purāṇa*, proclaimed by Vāyu. The Buddhist literature is aware of the existence of this literature[6]. From the 7th century onwards, the Digambar Jainas began to compose their own Purāṇas[7]. With the progress of time, this literature became so popular that even the Dravidian south adopted it in its literature[8]. The term *Purāṇa* in the sense of "Semi-legendary and legendary tales" is mentioned in the *Śilpaddikāraṃ* and the *Manimeklai* which mentions the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* as *Kaḍavalvaṇanpurāṇam.*[9] The Purāṇic

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[1] *SBE*, Vol. II, p. 158.

[2] I, 3, I, 5; *J. R. A. S.* 1914, p. 1022.

[3] I, 5; V. 3, 6.

[4] *Rām.* IV. 62. 3; *MBh.* I, 1, 40; I, 5, 2, I, 5, 6-7.

[5] III, 191-16.

[6] *Lalitavistara* calls itself a Purāṇa. Passages in the *Sadbharma-puṇḍarika, Karaṇḍavyūha* and *Mahāvastu* resemble those in the Purāṇas.

[7] *H. I. L.* Vol. II, pp. 497-504.

[8] *I. H. Q.* Vol. VIII (Dec. 1932) pp. 746-766.

[9] *Maṇimaklāi*, XIII. 1. 98 as mentioned in *I. H. Q.*, V[illegible], 764.

teachings were freely adopted by the *Nāyanmārs* and *Ālwars*, who preached them throughout Tamilland. The *Liṅga-purāṇa* was well-known during this epoch. Besides, the *Śiva*, *Liṅga*, *Matsya*, *Kūrma*, *Bhāgavata*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Devībhāgavata*, *Viṣṇu* and *Garuḍa* were all translated into Tamil.[1]

37. These references, occurring in works dating from the later Vedic period to the seventh century of the Christian era, clearly show that during this long period of several centuries there existed a definite literary form called *Purāṇa* embodying old traditions, stories etc. and in course of time attaining religions sanctity. In most of the earlier references, the word *Purāṇa* occurs in singular and not in plural, as is the case at a subsequent period. This suggests that Purāṇa was originally one but at a later stage, it assumed its multifarious form. All this, naturally, involves a long process of development spreading over so many centuries (B. C. 1000—A. D. 700).

38. *Development :*—A thorough study of the Purāṇas will reveal to the reader the various phases of evolution through which they had to pass before they assumed their present complicated form. It will easily be grasped, how gradually old traditions embodied in *Ākhyāna*, *Nārāśaṁsī*, *Kalpajokti*, as also genealogies of old ruling dynasties, gradually got a definite literary form which may rightly be regarded as the original *Purāṇa* or rather the kernel of the vast Purāṇic literature of the later age, and the earliest reference to this earlist literary form may be traced to the *Atharvaveda*[2]. This original *Purāṇa*, later on, got combined with *Itihāsa* also, and then it is referred to as *Itihāsa-purāṇa* in the Brāhmaṇas and subsequent literature. Subsequent additions to the Purāṇic literature were made in the form of prophecies from Vyāsa, and this process led to the rise of *Bhaviṣya* account of the Purāṇas. With the progress of time, the bifurcated literature was again divided into different Purāṇas, according to the religious needs of the people. Thus

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[1] *IHQ*. Vol. VII. No. 2. pp. 370–371.

[2] XI. 7, 24 ; XI. 8, 7 ; XV. 6, 11–12.

a period is reached when the present eighteen Purāṇas, properly known as Mahāpurāṇas, saw the light of day. The process of development did not stop there. It continued and gave rise to several Up-purāṇas and *Mahātmyas*, which seem to be loosely appended to some of the Purāṇas. Thus a stage was reached when the Purāṇic literature assumed its vast and incoherent form, which, to a casual observer, does not seem to be of much consequence.

39. *Importance, Religions and literary* :—The orthodox section emongst the Hindus has always allotted a position of great eminence to the Purāṇic literature in the religious lore of India. In the earlier stages, it was regarded as an important source of religious knowledge classified along with the Vedic[1] literature. It was considered to be the fifth Veda[2], and was recognised as one of the fourteen orthodox branches of knowledge[3]. Besides, it is frequently referred to in various other branches of religious literature. All this clearly indicates how the Purāṇic literature was gradually attaining inportance till it began to exercise a good deal of influence over the cultural life of the ancient Indians. Ultimately, it sometimes received precedence over the Vedic literature itself[4]. In practice, if not in theory, it has retained that position till the present day, though in theory the Vedas command the supreme regard. For the modern Hinduism, the Purāṇas are religious treatises of divine origin.[5] Hence, they have been a great source of inspiration to the mass-mind, especially, on religious matters.

40. *Mass-appeal* :—Purāṇa as a form of literature, naturally, made an appeal to the popular mind as is evidenced from the nature of its contents even in the very first stage of its development. This particular aspect was, to a very great

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[1] *Athar* XI. 7, 24.

[2] *Chā. Up.* VII. 1, 4.

[3] *Ys.*, Ācārādhyāya, verse 3.

[4] *Mat.* 53/3.

[5] *APD.* pp. 11–12.

extent, responsible for subsequent additions of fresh matter to the original *Purāṇa* and this process resulted in making the Purāṇic literature almost encyclopaedic, representing various aspects of ancient Indian culture and its evolution. This is how, it may be explained that a branch of literature, originally purporting to be merely of historical and secular import, came to be regarded in course of time as an authoritative religious literature. From the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra literature, it is obvious that the recital of the Purāṇic literature was enjoined on certain occasions of religious or special importance[1]. This position of privilege enjoyed by Purāṇa paved ground for its further recognition on religious or sectarian grounds. This is clearly discernible when the last stage i. e. sectarian stage of the development of the Purāṇic literature was reached, which also witnessed the change in nomenclature from Purāṇa to Mahā-purāṇa. The original Purāṇic literature came to be divided into eighteen Purāṇas to fulfil the religious and sectarian needs of the period. Even these eithteen Purāṇas could not cope with the overgrowing demand of sectarianism on Purāṇic literature, and this led to the development of one more phase of Purāṇic literature that of the Upa-Purāṇas, which also attained the number of eighteen. This multifarious growth of the Purāṇic literature was a clear indication of the great mass appeal, which it could make. Even Jainism did not fail to avail itself of the new means of propagating its tenets, and this gave rise to the Jain Purāṇas.

41. For a thorough grasp and understanding of the evolution and history of Hindu culture, the importance of the Purāṇic studies can hardly be over-estimated. A critical study of the various Purāṇas opens up various epochs of the evolution of ancient-Indian culture, revealing the youthful vigour of the early Aryans, the mature thinking of the Upaniṣadic and Dārśanic age, the good and evil consequences of the

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[1] *Śat Br.* XIV, 6, 100, 1; XIII, 4, 3, 13; XI, 5, 7, 9; I, 22, 11; *Śāṅ. Śr.* XVI. 2, 27; *Gau. Dh.* I, 8-5.

ripening age as evidenced from the predominance of the Bhakti cult.

42. *Neglect of Purāṇic studies* :—The earlier writers of ancient history with a few exceptions neglected the study of the Purāṇic literature for want of confidence in its authenticity. Sir William Jones, at the end of the eighteenth century, drew the attention of the scholars to historical value of this literature when the source of the African river Niles could be traced with the help of the Purāṇic account of the Nīla river in Kuśa Dvīpa (modern-Nubia)[1]. During the first half of the 19th century, Wilkins, Capt. Troyer, Dr. Mill, James Prinsep and others opened a new avenue for historical research by the discovery of valuble epigrapic and numismatic treasures.[2] This also led to the neglect of Purāṇic studies. Even then the scholars like Kennedy and Wilson did not fail to establish the historical value of the Purāṇas. Valuable services have been rendered to the investigation of the Purāṇic literature by Eugene Burnouf. But a definite move in this direction was made by Pargiter and others. Thus as a result of Pargiter's efforts; the Purāṇic Literature is, after all, given the importance that was its due in reconstructing the history of ancient India, and the Indologists have realised the truth of the statement in the *Vāyu-purāṇa*[3]. A. D. Pusalkar in his learned work[4] has ably discussed how during the last twenty-five years, scholars have been, more or less, attracted towards the Purāṇic studies, as a result of which Purāṇic literature is gradually assuming the role of eminence that is its due in Indological studies.

43. *Reconstruction of ancient History* :—For the reconstruction of ancient history of India, a thorough and critical study of the Purāṇas becomes imperative. Generally in the past, the scholars of ancient Indian history were prone to

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[1] *BIR*. I, p. 224.

[2] *Ibid*. p. 225.

[3] I. 200–201.

[4] *SEP*. Chap. VI.

disregard this important source of information, attaching undue importance to the epigraphic, numismatic and other archaeological sourcees. Altekar[1] correctly stressed the importance of the Purāṇas as a source of valuable information for the archaic period of Indian history at the Calcutta session of the Indian History Congress. He tried to reconstrust the pre-BhārataWar history with the aid of the data available from the Purāṇas. A critical study of the earlier Purāṇas clearly shows how the chronology of the Vedic hymns may be reconstructed with the aid of the Purāṇic data, without which, perhaps, the Vedic period as such cannot be understood in the right perspective. Munshi[2] has made a commendable effort in properly arranging historical events from Rāma Jāmadagneya to Janmejaya Pārikṣita on the basis of the Vedic and the Purāṇic data. Smith[3] has fully utilised the Purāṇic data for reconstructing the chronology of the Śaiśunāga, Nanda and Āndhra dynasties. Other scholars have also worked on the Purāṇas and tried to establish their utility for the reconstruction of the history of ancient India. Above all, Pargiter in his *Ancient Indian Historical Traditians* opened the treasure-house of Purāṇic traditions for the use of a student of ancient Indian history. ✓

44. *Importance of the Agni Purāṇa* :—The *Agnipurāṇa* occupies a position of importance in the general scheme of the Purāṇic literature. It represents a phase of that literature when it had reached the climax of its development and become encyclopædic embodying a variety of topics. In this respect, it can easily be distinguished from the earlier Purāṇas like the *Vāyu, Brāhmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, Matsya, Bhāgavata* etc. It may, in a way, be regarded as a representative of the later Purāṇas, e. g. *Garuḍa, Kūrma, Liṅga, Bhaviṣya, Skanda* etc. As representing the encyclopaedic phase of Purāṇic development, it may be regarded as a sort of landmark in the history of the Purāṇic

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[1] *JBHU*. IV, pp. 183–229.

[2] *BV*. Vol. I pp. 144–155.

[3] *EHI*. pp. 46–47, 51, 230–232, also the table.

literature, because the earlier tendency at elaboration of a few topics had ceased to exist and the principle of abridgment of many different ones came to be adopted. It compresses the account of three incarnations of God in one short chapter, while the *Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu* etc., take one or more than one chapter for one incarnation. It is also important as a source of information for ancient Indian history in as much as it preserves the genealogies of the ancient ruling dynasties. The genealogical lists are not so elaborate as in the earlier Purāṇas but even then their historical importance cannot be under-estimated, as they preserve the important ruling dynasties. Hence, a close study of the extant *Agnipurāṇa* shows how the people were interested in the literary and cultural attainments of the period and looked upon them with a religious eye. It is a veritable religious and literary encyclopaedia embodying the art, literature and science of the period represented by it. Thus, the literary and cultural efforts of the period were not merely confined to the intellectual classes but they were also popularised.

45. *The Agnipurāṇa* occupies a unique position in the literary history of ancient India, as it brings together, with a conscious effort, the thoughts of the learned, the philosophical tenets of the great thinkers and the religious beliefs of the masses. It represents, in this way, a long journey from Purāṇa in the earliest phase of Purāṇic development.

46. Thus, a survey of the various Purāṇas and Up-Purāṇas clearly shows, how in the course of the development of the Purāṇic literature the original conception of Purāṇa was almost lost sight of, the five-characteristic theory was overlooked and extraneous sectarian matter began to creep into it, till the Purāṇic literature became purly sectarian, advocating the worship of various deities and thus representing the popular form of Hinduism. Its religious character did not fail to influence the Jainas and the Tamilians who also produced a similar literature to suit their religious and sectarian needs. A

critical perusal of the various Purāṇas indicates the general aspects of these literary treasures, their literary value, their usefulness for the reconstruction of ancient Indian history and their place in the evolution of Hindu culture. But to a student of Sanskrit literature, the Purāṇas as a great store-house of folklore, traditions, myths and several other topics are of great literary value. In the general Purāṇic scheme, the *Agnipurāṇa*, a religious and literary encyclopaedia, occupies a position of importance and is a representative of the later Purāṇas.

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AGNI-PURĀṆA : A STUDY

CHAPTER I

(i) A SURVEY

Contents

1. *Encyclopædic*—The extant *Agnipurāṇa*[1] comprises 382 chapters, containing in all about 11000[2] verses. It is encyclopædic in nature and as such embodies various topics e. g. religion, philosophy, politics, sociology, poetics, dramaturgy, arts, sciences, etc. It embodies a detailed account of popular Hinduism, the worship of different deities, religious observances as also *Tāntric* practices.

2. The first chapter of the *Purāṇa* being introductory begins with a salutation to the goddesses—Śrī, Sarasvatī, Gaurī, and the gods Gaṇeśa, Skanda, Īśvara, Brahman, Vahni, Indra and

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[1] Printed editions of the Agni–Purāṇa :—
(i) *Bibliotheca Indica,* Calcutta, 1873–79; (ii) *Ānandāśrama* No. 41, 1900 (iii) *Veṅkateśvar.* V. E. 1977 (A. D. 1921); (iv) Jivānanda Vidya Sagara's edition, Calcutta, 1882, as used by Pargiter. (v) edited by Panchanan Tarkaratna, Vaṅga vāsi Press, Calcutta. These editions do not much differ from one another. All the editions contain 382 chapters but the *Veṅkaṭeśvar edition* has got one chapter in excess. The chapter 135 titled *Atha Saṅgrāma Vijaya Vidyā* cannot be traced in other editions. For references *Veṅkaṭeśvara edition* is adopted.

[2] The extent of matter in Prof. Wilson's codex was computed at about 14000 verses. The extent of the *Agni Purāṇa* according to the various Purāṇas is–*Mats.* (53/12–53)–1600 verses; *Skān* (VII.2/27–28)–16000 verses; *Bhāg.* (XII.13;4–9)–15400 verses; *Nār.* (100/13)–15000 verses; *Ag.* (292/10–11)-12000 verses;

Vāsudeva. Then follows an account of Sūta's approach during his pilgrimage to the sages Śaunaka and others, who were performing sacrifice in honour of Hari.[1] The sages ask the *Sūta* to explain the essence of learning (*Sārātsāram*), a knowledge of which bestows perfection. The *Sūta* said that the knowledge of the god Viṣṇu or Brahman was the quintessence of all knowledge leading to perfection.[2] This knowledge, he obtained from Vyāsa, who in his turn got it from Vasiṣṭha. And Vasiṣṭha himself received the knowledge direct from the god Agni[3]. Thus the ultimate source of this quintessence of knowledge was Agni, and hence the name *Agni-purāna*. Then *Vidyā* or knowledge is described as two-fold, *Parā* and *Aparā*. The latter includes the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas, Nyāya, Vaidyaka, Gāndharva, Dhanurveda, Śikṣā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Nirukta, Jyotiṣa, *Chandobhidhāna*, Mīmaṁsā, and Purāṇa. By the former i. e. *Parā* Bhahman is realised[4]. Thus the *AgniPurāṇa* claims to describe the various branches of learning and fulfils this claim to a very great extent. The following survey will clearly explain the encyclopædic nature of the *Purāṇa* and show how far it has succedeed in its claim of giving the essence of the various branches of learning.

3. *Various Topics, Incarnation* :—A perusal of the *Agnipurāṇa* shows that various topics are embodied in it, and the following is the brief survey of these topics—

No less than fifteen[5] chapters are devoted to the account of the ten incarnations of the god Hari or Viṣṇu *viz.* Matsya,[6] Kūrma[7], Varāha,[8] Narasiṁha,[9] Vāmana[10], Paraśurāma,[11] Śri Rāma,[12] Kṛṣṇa,[13] Buddha[14] and Kalkī.[15] An account of these incarnations may be given as under :—

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[1] 1/2;
[2] 1/3.
[3] I/8-10.
[4] 1/15-17
[5] 2-16.
[6] Chap. 2/1-17.
[7] Chap. 3.
[8] Chap. 4/1-2.
[9] Chap. 4/3-4.
[10] Chap. 4/5-11.
[11] Chap. 4/12-20.
[12] Chap. 5-11.
[13] Chap. 12.
[14] Ch3p. 16/1-4.
[15] Chap. 16/8-13.

4. *Matsya* :—When after Atīta Kalpa as a result of the deluge,[1] the worlds were submerged in waters the god Viṣṇu in the form a fish, helped Manu seated in a boat with seeds of worldly existence to a place of safety.

5. *Kūrma* :—During churning of the sea by the gods and the demons, the churning rod, the Mandarācala, being supportless sank in the waters, where-upon Viṣṇu assuming the form of a tortoise upheld the mountain and the churning proceeded.

6. *Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana* :—When Hiraṇyākṣa, the lord of the demons, conquered the gods, the latter appraoched Viṣṇu, who adopted the form of a boar to kill the demons. When Hiraṇyakśipu, the brother of Hirrṇyākṣa, conquered the gods, Viṣṇu had to adopt the form of a man-lion (Nṛsiṁha) to kill the demon. Formerly, in the fight between the gods and the demons, the gods were defeated by Bali and others, and Viṣṇu had to become a dwarf (Vāmana) to put down the all-powerful demon.

7. *Paraśurāma* :—Sahasrabāhu Kārtavīrya, the lord of the earth, once went a hunting, when being tired, he approached

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[1] The story of the deluge may be traced to the *Sat. Br.* (I.8.11) and the earlier literature of other nations. In the *Bible*, the story of deluge and Noaha's ark occurs. The *Avesta* describes the submerging of the Ariyana Vaezo. The *Koran* also gives its own version of the story. The Bibilcal story of the deluge is bodily taken from the Sumerian legend. The gods created the deluge to punish man for his ingratitude. The eleventh tablet of Gilgamash epic (*Circa.* 2000 B.C.) gives the deluge-story in details. In the *MBh.* (*Vana Parva* Chap. 190) the story of Manu occurs in an amplified form. There the fish approaches Manu, while he is performing penance. It is taken to the Ganges first and then to the sea. The fish advises Manu to get into the boat with the seven sages and the seeds of all kinds and tells him that it could be recognised by its horn. The mountain where Manu sailed was Hīmālaya. The fish ultimately tells Mānu and the Saptarṣis that it is really *Prajāpati* and instructs Manu to create *Prajā*.

the hermitage of the sage Jamadagni, who entertained the royal guest with the help of the *Kāmadhenu*. The king wanted the Divine cow and on being refused took it away forcibly. Jamdagni's son Paraśurāma killed the king in battle and brought back the cow. Then the sons of Sahasrabāhu killed Jamadagni. On this, Paraśurāma got enraged and extirpated the Kṣatriyas from the earth, twenty-one times.

8. *Rāma*, Kṛṣṇa :—Then follows the account of Viṣṇu's incarnation as Rāma to kill Rāvaṇa, as Kṛṣṇa to kill Kaṁsa.

9. *Buddha* :—Being defeated in their fight against the demons, the gods approached Viṣṇu for help. The god was born as *Māyāmoha* to Śuddhodana and deluded the demons, so that they gave up *Veda-Dharma* and became Buddhists. The god as *Māyāmoha* then became *Arhata* and the remaining demons were turned into *Ārhatas*.

10. The conception of the Buddha as *Māyāmoha* deluding the demons from *Veda-Dharma* may be traced to other Purāṇas as well. According to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*[1], the gods being defeated by the demons sought Viṣṇu's help, who produced *Māyāmoha* from his own body and gave him to the gods. This *Māyāmoha* all naked went to the demons on the banks of the Narmadā and preached them the religion of the naked and they became *Ārhatas*. Then in red garments he preached *Ahiṁsā* to the remaining demons, who gave up *Veda-Dharma* and got weakened. They were attacked by the gods and extirpated. The *Matsya-purāṇa*[2] gives a different version of the story, according to which the sons of Rāji were the demons who deprived Indra of his share in the sacrifice. Indra sought the help of Bṛhaspati who deluded the sons of Rāji by preaching the religion of the Jin. They were then killed by Indra. The same version occurs in the *Harivaṁśa*[3] and *Devībhāgavata*.[4] The *Padmapurāṇa*[5] gives the story of *Māyā-moha* in a very elaborate form and mixes the two versions—*Viṣṇu* and *Matsya*.

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[1] Chap. 35-III, 17 and 18. [2] 24/43-39;
[3] I, 28, 29ff. [4] IV,19; [5] *Śṛsṭṭkhaṇḍa* Chap. 13;

10. Direct mention of the Buddha as one of the ten incarnations is also made in several Purāṇas. The *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, though embodying the story of *Māyāmoha* is quite silent about the Buddha incarnation, though Kalkī is mentioned. The *Matsya*[1] includes the Buddha among the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. The *Mārkaṇḍeya*[2] refers to a few incarnations but makes no mention of the Buddha. The *Harivaṁśa* also does not mention the Buddha, though it mentions Kalkī. The *Kūrma* and *Brahma* also do not mention the Buddha. The *Bhāgavata*[3] includes the Buddha in three lists of incarnations of Viṣṇu. The Buddha is also mentioned as incarnation in *Liṅga*;[4] Varāha[5] and *Padma*.[6]

11. *Kalkī* :—At the end of Kali age, as a result of intermixture of castes and Mlecchas becoming kings, Kalkī, the son of Viṣṇuyaśas, will be born to exterminate the Mlecchas and re-establish the four castes.

12. Thus the *Agni-purāṇa* gives an account of all the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu in nutshell, keeptng true to its ideal of giving the quintessence (*Sārātsāram*) of various topics. The other Purāṇas like *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vāyu*, *Matsya*, *Viṣṇu* etc. are quite verbose and detailed in giving the account of various incarnations of Viṣṇu.

13. *Summary of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Harivaṁśa* :—The occasion for the account of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa incarnations is utilized to summarise the epics, the *Rāmayaṇa*[7] and the *Mahābhārata*[8] with special reference to the *Harivaṁśa*. The chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 summarise respectively *Bālakāṇḍa*, *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, *Āraṇyakāṇḍa*, *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, *Sundarakāṇḍa*, *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, and *Uttarakāṇḍa*. The chapters

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[1] Chap. 54; 47/247; 2S5/7. [2] Chap. 54. [3] I, 3, 24; II 7, 37, VI, 8, 19. [4] II. 48, 31-32 [5] IV 2, 48; 1-22; 55/35-37. [6] *Bhūmī Khaṇḍa* 18/66; *Uttarakhaṇḍa* 31 /13-14. 68/51; 72/27, 72/279; 283; 76/9-11; 257/40-41.

[7] Chap. V-XI. [8] Chap. XII-XV.

12 to 15 describe the genealogies of Hari or Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas, as well as the various episodes of the great epic.

14. *Cosmogony and the account of the race of Svāyambhuva, Kāśyapa, Dakṣa etc.*:–Four chapters[1] are devoted to the account of primary and secondary creation as also the race of Svāyambhuva. Dakṣa, Kāśyapa etc. In the beginning, Bramhā, the undeveloped existence *(Avyakta-sat),* existed, neither firmament, night nor day existed. The *Avyakta* gave rise to *Mahattattva* and the creative process started. In this connection, the Sāṁkhya scheme of evolution is adopted.[2]

15. *Worship of the various deities and Tāntric practices*:–No less than eighty-five[3] chapters are devoted to describe the details about the worship of the various deities with a tinge of occult and mystic *Tāntricism*[4]. The worship of various deities and things sacred to them, as also that of mystic symbols like *Ham, Hṛm, Hrīm, Ham, Kham* etc. is advocated. An account of the *Tāntric* worship is given in all its details, e.g. preparation of the after, the *Mantra, Mudrā, Dīkṣā,* the mystic *Maṇḍalas* etc. Then follows an account of placing sacred threads (Pavitrās) on the images[5], the consecration of temples and other buildings, making of the images of the various gods, and the chief characterstics of those images. An interesting account is given of sinking sacred wells, planting sacred trees, repairing old temples and the installation of images of the gods. A detailed account of the deities like Gaṇeśa, Śiva, Sūrya, Agni and Caṇḍa is also given. The Vāstu-pūjā (worship of the newly constructed building) is also described.

16. The *Purāṇa* gives in seven[6] chapters the details of worshipping Kubjikā, Aṣṭāṣṭakādevī, Tvaritā etc. About twenty-seven[7] chapters describe the worship of the deities like Sūrya, Lakṣmī, Tvaritā, Gaṇa, Vāgīśvarī, Gaurī etc, with the aid of mystic symbols in the Tāntric manner. Besides, various mystic

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[1] Chap. XVII–XX.

[2] XVII 3–16.

[3] Chap. XXI–CVI.

[4] XXI 12–13, 16–18 29–27.

[5] Chap. 35-36.

[6] Chap. 143–149.

[7] Chap. 300–326.

formulae, some for captivating the heart of others, are also described. The chapter 305 gives various names of Viṣṇu and various sacred places. The chapter 327 describes the result of worshipping various gods and the importance of temples.

17. *Bhuvanakośa* :—Fourteen[1] chapters are devoted to the account of *Bhuvanakośa* and the various Dvīpas, Vṛttas and Varṣas. In this connection, a detailed account is given of the sacred places and rivers, and religious merit attendant upon visiting those places. Several sacred places and rivers are described e.g. Puṣkara,[2] Vārāṇasī,[3] Gaṅgā[4], Prayāga,[5] Narmadā[6], Gayā[7] etc.

18. *Stars and their effects* :–Twenty-two[8] chapters describe, in a miscellaneous manner, the effect of the stars on human undertakings ; the auspicious time for marriage and other sacraments is also discussed. The various modes and mannars of subduing the enemies by means of mystic circles (Cakras), drugs, unguents, mystic formulas (Mantras) etc. as given in the *Yuddha Jayārṇava* are also embodied in these chapters.

19. *Manu-intervals* :—Only one chapter[9] is allotted to the account of fourteen Manu-intervals with their respective sons, gods, seven sages (Saptarṣis) and Indras.

20. *Dharmaśāstra-matter* : *Ācāra* :—Matter borrowed from the Dharmaśāstaa literature especially the *Manu*, *Nārada*, and the *Yājñavalkya Smṛtis* forms the topic of the twenty-four chapters.[10] In this connection, nearly twenty Smṛtis[11] are mentioned. The chapter 151 describes the common and special duties of the four Varṇas—Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra; a mention is also made of mixed castes due to Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages. The chapter 152 describes the conduct of a householder ; and the chapter 153, though claiming to describe the duties of *Brahmacaryāśrama*

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[1] Chap. 107–120.
[2] Chap. 109/12.
[3] Chap. 112.
[4] Chap. 110.
[5] Chap. 111.
[6] Chap. 113.
[7] Chap. 114.
[8] Chap. 121–142.
[9] Chap. 150.
[10] Chap. 151–174.
[11] 162/1–2.

begins with an account of sacraments—Śīmanta, Jātakarma, Nāma-Karaṇa, Cūḍākṛta, Upānayana, etc. In the account of Upānayana-saṁskāra, some details about *Brahmacaryāśrama* are given. The chapter 154 is entirely devoted to the account of eight kinds of marriages. The chapter 155 describes the daily conduct of a twice-born, various modes of purification, *Dravya-śuddhi, Śāvāśauca, Asaṁskṛtādiśaucam.* The chapter 160 gives an account of the *Vānaprasthāśrama,* the chapter 161 the duties of *Yati* or *Sanyāsī,* the chapter 163 *Śrāddha,* and the chapter 164 *Navagrahahoma.* The chapter 165 titted *Nānādharmanirūpaṇa* describes certain miscellaneous topics e. g. sense-control, breath-control, purification of women etc. The chapter 166 gives an account of sacraments, four Vedic vows *(Vedavratacatuṣṭaya),* five great sacrifices *(Mahāyajñas),* seven *Pākayajñas,* seven *Somasaṁsthās,* eight *Ātmaguṇas* etc. The chapter 167 describes Grahayajña for warding off evil influence of the planets. The chapters 168–175 are devoted to the various expiations *(Prāyaścittas)* necessary for warding off the evil effect of sins.

21. *Ācāra* :—About thirtynine chapters[1] are devoted to the account of various religious observances and gifts. The chapters 175–200 give an account of various observances for particular days in a month, as also those for particular months in a year. The chapter 201 describes the worship of *Navavyūha,* The chapter 202, titled *Puspādhyāya,* describes various flowers and the sanctity attached to them. The chapter 203 embodies an account of various hells. The chapter 204 describes the observance of a monthly fast, and the chapter 205 an observance called *Bhīsma-pañcakavratam.* The chapter 206 describes the worship of the sage Agastya, the chapter 207 *Kaumudavrata* and the chapter 208 gives an account of both religious observances and gifts. The chapters 209–213 are devoted to the account of various religions and observances the good accruing therefrom. The religious gifts mentioned are *Merudāna (Vastrameru, Tilameru* etc), *Godāna, Pṛthvīdāna, Dhenudāna* etc.

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[1] Chap. 175–213.

22. *Religious prayers* :—Nearly four chapters[1] describe the importance of mystic formulas describing the *Nāḍīcakra*. The chapter 215 describes the procedure of performing *Sandhyā*, and the chapters 215-217 titled *Gāyatrī-nirvāṇa* describe the importance of the *Gayatrīmantra*.

23. *Rājadharma* :—About twenty-five chapters[2] are devoted to the account of various topics under the science of Government as described by Puṣkara, e. g. the coronation ceremony, the king and the council of his ministers and their duties, the accomplishments of the king, working of law and order, six constituents of state (*Ṣāḍguṇya*), the daily programme of the king, the mode of warfare etc. Then the chapters 238-242 again describe the same topics under the title *Rāmoktanīti* (the science of Government as related by Rāma). The characteristics of men,[3] women[4], chowries[5], houses[6] etc., the test of jewels[7] and the rusult of worshipping Viṣṇu[8] etc. with various flowers are all allotted one chapter each in the *Purāṇa*.

24. *Archery* :—Archery is described in four chapters.[9] Different bodily postures[10] at the time of fighting and the use of various weapons[11] are also discussed.

25. *Dharmśāstra-Vyavahāra* :—Law as based on social customs forms the topic of nearly five[12] chapters, which give an account of various disputes, inheritance, ordeals, twelve kinds of sons, boundary disputes, regulations about lapses in conducting trade, business, commerce etc.

26. *Ṛgādividhāna* :—Nearly thirteen[13] chapters are devoted to the account of the Vadic literature, *Ṛg, Yaju, Sāma, Atharva*, together with their various Sākhās (schools). The number of hymns occurring in the various Vedas in also given. In between these, are inserted about seventeen chapters, dealing with

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1. Chap. 214-217.
2. Chap. 218-242.
3. Chap. 243.
4. Chap. 234.
5. Chap. 245.
6. Chap. 247.
7. Chap. 246.
8. Chap. 249-252.
9. Chap. 248.
10. Chap. 252/1-4.
11. Chap. 222/6-25.
12. Chap. 253-257
13. Ghap. 259-271.

sundry sectarain topics e.g. *Dikpālādisnāna, Vināyakasnāna, Maheśvarasnāna, Nīrājanāvidhi, Chatrādimantra* and *Viṣṇupañjara* describing various modes of worshipping a particular deity. The chapter 272 is devoted to the account of the importance of religious gifts.

27. *Genealogy of kings* :—Six chapters[1] are assigned to the account of the kings of the solar and the lunar dynasties in order of their descent.

28. *Science of medicine* :—Āyurveda i. e. the science of medicine as described by Suśruta forms the topic of about twenty[2] chapters, which give an account of medicines and their efficiency in curing various diseases, the diseases of the plants and their cures, the diseases of the elephants, horses and cows, cure of snake-bite by muttering magical formulas, the use of mystical symbols in curing snake-bite etc, the diseases of the children and their cure by use of a mystic symbol.

The chapter 370 gives an account of the old conception about physiology and anatomy. All this is subsidiary to the science of medicine.

29. *Summary of the Piṅgalasūtras on metrics* :—About eight chapters[3] describe the science of metres summarising the well-known *Piṅgala-sūtras*.

30. *Pāṇini's Śiksā* :—The chapter 336 sums up Pāṇini's Śikṣā (Phonetics).

31. *Kāvya, Dramaturgy and Poetics* :—About eleven[4] chapters are devoted to the description of Kāvya, dramaturgy and poetics. The chapter 337 deals with the characterics of poetry, the chapter 338 dramaturgy, the chapter 339 various literary sentiments, the chapter 340 literary style, the chapter 341 the art of dancing etc. the chapter 342 actions on the stage, the chapter 343 literary embellishments of words, the chapter 344

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[1] Chap. 272–277. [2] Chap. 278–297. [3] Chap. 323–335.
[4] Chap. 336–346.

literary embellishments of sense, the chapter 345 literary embellishments of both words and sense, and the chapter 347 literary blemishes.

32. *One letter-lexicon* :—The chapter 348 deals with one letter lexicon.

33. *Summary of Kaumāra Grammar* :—About eleven[1] chapters summarise the various topics of the *Kaumāra Grammar.*

Summary of the Amarakośa :—The various topics of the *Amarakośa* are summarised in about eight chapters.[2]

Dissolution :—The chapter 369 describes the final dissolution (*Ātyantika Pralaya*) and the chapter 368 the recurring dissolution (*Nitya-naimittika pralaya*).

34. *Hells* :—The chapter 371 gives an account of the various hells, as also ordeals and punishment meted out to the sinners.

35. *Yoga* :—About five[3] chapters describe the eight limbs (*Aṅgas*) of *Yoga viz. Yama, Niyam, Āsana, Prāṇāyāma, Pratyāhāra, Dhyāna, Dhāraṇā* and *Samādhi.*

36. *Vedāntism or Brahma-nirūpaṇa* :—Nearly four chapters[4] sum up the Vedāntic doctrine of *Brahma.* The chapter 380 gives a summary of the *Bhagavadgītā,* and the chapter 382 sums up the *Yamagītā.* The last chapter 383 sums up the various topics embodied in the *Agni-purāṇa* and thus explains the importance of the *Purāṇa.*

(ii) *A CRITICAL ESTIMATE*

37. *Analysis of the contents* :—The encyclopaedic *Agni-purāṇa,* one of the later Mahā Purāṇas, presents various topics connected with different branches of learning. A critical analysis of the contents reveals that the extant *Agni-purāṇa* cannot be the original one. After compilation of the original *Purāṇa,* it seems, more matter pertaning to different topics

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[1] Chap. 341–358. [2] Chap. 359–366. [3] Chap. 371–375.

[4] Chap. 376–379.

came to be added to the original text, as a result of which the original got amplified to its extant size. The following analysis of the contents will explain all this very clearly.

38. *Several Narrators* :—While studying critically the contents of the *Agni-purāṇa*, the first thing that attracts our attention is the large number of narrators that are introduced to describe different topics embodied in the *Purāṇa*. These narrators are introduced because they are the famous authors of treatises on those various topics e. g. Bhārgva Rāma (Rājanīti), Samudra (Sāmudrika), Dhanvantari (Vaidyakaśāstra), Pālakāpya (Hastiśāstra), Śālihotra (Aśvaśāstra), Skanda (Vyākaraṇa) etc. In fact, they are not narrators as such, but the main author of the work passing under the name of Agni has introduced them to lend authority to his account. Thus, these narrators are the authors of authoritative works on those topics. The different narrators and the topics assigned to them may be summed us as under :—

(1) *Agni* :—

(1) Chapters 1–4 & 16	*Avatāras*.
,, 5–12	*Rāmāyaṇa* summarised.
,, 13–15	*Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa*
(2) Chapter 31–38	Sectarian matter[1].
(3) Chapters 107–123	Primary creation, geographical account of the universe, description of sacred places etc[2].
(4) Chapter 150	Manvantaras.
(5) Chapter 165	Various duties[3].
(6) Chapter 167	Rituals[4]
(7) Chapter 173–219	Expiations, religious observances on various days in a month, religious gifts, religious prayers, royal coronation.

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[1] अपमार्ज्जन, निर्वाणदीक्षासंस्कार पवित्राधिरोपण, पूजा होमादि ।

[2] ज्योतिःशास्त्रकथनम्, कालगणनम्, युद्धजयार्णवीयज्योति ।

[3] नानाधर्माः ।

[४] अयुतलक्षकोटिहोम ।

(8) Chapter 243–258	Characteristics of chowries and jewels, houses, flowers etc. Science of archery. Court-procedure, ordeals, inheritance, boundry-disputes, harsh language etc.
(9) Chapter 265	Bath of deities of the quarters.
(10) Chapter 273–278	Royal genealogies, twelve-fold warfare.
(11) Chapter 293–316	Tāntric practices of disease-cure by mystical formulae, worship of various deities, various magical formulae.
(12) Chapter 317–327	Worship of various deities.
(13) Chapter 328–148	Science of metres, poetics and dramaturgy, one-word lexicon.
(14) Chapter 316–381	*Amarakośa* summarised, dissolution, eight-fold Yoga, account of Brahmā, bodily limbs, account of hells, Summary of *Gītā*.
(15) Chapter 383	Importance of the *Agni-purāṇa*.
(2) *Nārada:—*	
Chapter 21–30	Worship of Viṣṇu etc. Alter-making, sacrifice, Tāntric worship.
(3) *Hayagrīva:—*	
Chapters 39–47	Worship of Viṣṇu, laying the foundation-stone, characteristics of mansion, images of Vāsudeva, Śālagrāma etc.
(4) *Bhagavān:—*	
Chapters 48–70[1]	Images of various deities, ten incarnations, details about the worship of various gods, book-writing, installation of wells, tanks etc.

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[1] दशावतार, ६४ योगिनी, सूर्यादिग्रहलिङ्गपिंडिकादिलक्षण,

(5) *Īsvara:—*

(1)	Chapter 71–106	Worship of Gaṇa, Sūrya, Śiva Caṇḍa, Kapilā, various other ceremonies.
(2)	Chapter 124–149[1]	Tāntric mode of worship of various deities, various Cakras.
(3)	Chapter 317–327	Worship of various deities[2].

(6) *Puṣkara:—*

(1)	Chapter 150–164	Varṇāśrama, daily conduct and other ceremonies[3].
(2)	,, 168–172	Sins and expiations.
(3)	,, 220–237	Science of Government[4].
(4)	Chapters 259–264[5]	Worship of the gods.
(5)	,, 266–272[6]	Ceremonial bath of Vināyaka[7], Maheśvara, account of the Vedas and the importance of the Purāṇas.

(7) *Rāma:—*

Chapters 238–242	Science of Government.

(8) *Samudra:—*

Chapters 243–244	Characteristics of men and women.

(9) *Dhanvantari:—*

(1)	Chapters 279–286	Science of Medicine[8]

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[1] पवित्राधिवासन, समयदीक्षा, संस्कारदीक्षा, निर्वाणदीक्षा, विद्यासंशोधना, अभिषेकादि, वास्तुपूजा, शिलाविन्यासादि, शिवगौरीसूर्यादिप्रतिष्ठा, द्वारप्रासादादिध्वजारोपण प्रासादलक्षण, नगरादिवास्तुकर्म ।

[2] गणपूजा, वागीश्वरी-पूजामण्डल, पाशुपतशान्ति, गौर्यादिपूजा, देवालयमाहात्म्य ।

[3] द्रव्यशुद्धि, शावाशौचादि, श्राद्धकल्प, नवग्रहहोमादि ।

[4] सहायसम्पत्ति, अनुजीविवृत्त, राजधर्म, सामाद्युपाय, दण्डप्रणयन, शकुन, यात्रामण्डलचिन्ता, षाड्गुण्य, रणदीक्षा, श्रीस्तोत्रम् ।

[5] ऋगादिविधान, देवपूजा, वैश्वदेवबलि ।

[6] विनायकस्नान, महेश्वरस्नान, विष्णुपञ्जर, वेदशाखादिकथनम् , पुराणादिमाहात्म्य ।

[7] राजधर्म, षाड्गुण्य, सामादि, राजनीति ।

[8] सिद्धौषधानि, वृक्षायुर्वेदः, मंत्ररूपौषधकथनम्, मृतसञ्जीवनीकरसिद्धयोग, मृत्युञ्जयकल्प ।

(2) Chapter	288	Account of horses[1]
(3) ,,	292	Vaterinary science about the cows[2]
(10) *Pālakāpya:—*		
Chapter	287	Treatment of elephants[3]
(11) *Śālihotra:—*		
Chapters	289–291	Treatment of horses[4]
(12) *Skanda:—*		
Chapters	349–356	Grammar[5]
(13) *Kumāra:—*		
Chapters	357–359	Grammar[6]
(14) *Yama:—*		
Chapter	382	*Yama Gītā*

39. *Contents of Agni-purāṇa*:-The above analysis clearly indicates that the *Agni-purāṇa* comprises matter bearing on various topics. The author of the *Agni-purāṇa* was eager to make his *Purāṇa* contain everything that was needed by a devout person in his daily conduct of life, so he added matter from all the Śāstras. The *Purāṇa* also keeps true to the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* definition as it embodies the account of primary creation, secondary creation, genealogies, Manu-intervals and old royal dynasties. The topics embodied in the *Purāṇa* may be summed up as (i) religion and mythology, (ii) genealogy. (iii) cosmogony, (iv) philosophy, (v) matter from Dharmaśāstra literature, (vi) technical literature—dramatury, poetics etc. (vii) Rājanīti, (viii) architecture, iconography, medical science etc. A critical perusal of these topics as described in the *Purāṇa* reveals two-fold purpose of their being embodied in it, (i) to keep close to the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* definition and (ii) to embody the essence of various branches of learning as is claimed in the introduction of the *Purāṇa*. Thus, the author of the *Purāṇa*, being a great devotee of the fire-god Agni and finding

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[1] अश्ववाहनसार । [2] गवायुर्वेद । [3] गजचिकित्सा । [4] अश्वचिकित्सा ।

[5] कौमार-व्याकरणम्, सन्धि, सुब्विभक्ति, स्त्रीलिङ्गशब्द, नपुंसकशब्द, कारक, समास, तद्धित ।

[6] उणादिसिद्धरूप, तिङ्विभक्तिसिद्धरूप, कर्तृसिद्धरूप ।

the Purāṇic form of literature very popular, tried to present in that form the essence of various branches of learning. He had to keep true to the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* theory, so that his compilation may be granted the sanctimony of a Purāṇa. Thus came into existence the *Agni-purāṇa*.

40. The *Agni-purāṇa* did not want to be sectarian and so introduced all sorts of worship. Vaiṣṇavite, Śaivite, ritualistic and Tāntric traits are easily traceable to the Purāṇa. The god Viṣṇu or Hari is extolled in several places and his worship is advocated with a tinge of Tāntricism. Various Avatāras of Viṣṇu,[1] worship of Viṣṇu[2] and other allied deities,[3] mystical formulae pertaining to Vāsudeva etc. placing of sacred threads on the image of Viṣṇu etc. are the important Vaiṣṇavite traits in the *Purāṇa*. The portion embodying Śaivite traits deals with the worship of Śaivite deities[4]-Śiva, Gaṇa, Caṇḍa, Sūrya, Kapilā etc. in minute details with a Tāntric tinge. This is followed by an account of various Cakras and Maṇḍalas, constellations of stars, the magical formulae, worship of Kubjikā, Tvaritā[5] etc. The worship of Gaṇa, Vāgīśvarī, Gaurī etc., the account of Maṇḍalas, various Śāntis, and the importance of temples find a place in the *Purāṇa*[6]. A critical study of these portions shows that they contain details of Śaivite worship of several deities associated with Tāntric practices. Ritualistic practices confirming to Brāhmaṇic orthodoxy are also embodiad in the *Purāṇa.*

41. The genealogical lists and cosmogonical accounts are adopted from the old traditions embodied in the earlier Purāṇas like the *Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa , Matsya, Viṣṇu* etc., but the treatment is not at all detailed. As for philosphy, the systems of *Yoga* and *Vedānta* only have been embodied, though the *Bhagavadgītā* is also included in a summarized form. Under law and sociology, portions dealing with inheritance, daily conduct of life, administration of justice, ordeals, duties of Varṇāśrama and

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[1] *Agn.* chap. 1–16. [2] *Ibid.* chap. 21, ff. [3] *Ibid.* chap. 35–36. [4] *Ibid.* chap. 71–106. [5] *Ibid.* chap.124–149. [6] *Ibid.* chap. 317–327.

other matter pertaining to social customs and life, generally adopted from the *Manu, Yājñavalkya* and *Nārada Smṛtis*, have also become an integral part of the *Purāṇa*. Art and Science are dealt with very meagrely, the account of temples and their construction has given an occasion for a slight treatment of architecture, whereas the description of diseases and their cure is responsible for the treatment of anatomy etc.

The portion dealing with technical literature-poetics, dramaturgy, grammar, phonetics, lexicography, metrics, are of great importance to a student of literature. The treatment of poetics and dramaturgy is based on the works of the earlier theorists like Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha, Vāmana, Bharata etc.

42. *Sectarian and Dharmaśāstra matter* :—In course of time matter pertaining to sectarianism and Dharmaśāstra came to be added to the *Purāṇa* in between the chapters attributed to the god Agni. These additions may have been made as an adaptation from other texts that might have become quite popular by then. In some cases, even the whole texts seem to have been adopted, as was the case with the original version of the *Agni-purāṇa*. The portions narrated by Nārada, Puṣkara, Dhanvantari and Skanda in the extant *Agni-purāṇa* comprise these additions. Between the chapter No's. twenty and thirty-one ten chapters[1] are inserted, which deal with minor details about the worship of the god Viṣṇu, Āditya etc, Vāsudeva and other Mantras, Mudrās, initiation of disciples. Maṇḍalas etc., A detailed and critical study of these chapters clearly indicates that they are a sort of a collection of unnecessary details about the Tāntric worship of the gods like Viṣṇu and others, which may have been interpolated in the text of the original *Agni-purāṇa*, The chapters so interpolated give an account of the matter pertaining to the Dharmaśāstras, the duties of Varṇa and Āśrama, Srāddha, marriage, daily conduct, purity[2] etc., sins and their expiations,[3] the various traditional aspects of the

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[1] 21–54; [2] Cha. 151–164, 16; [3] Cha. 198–172;

science of Government,[1] the religious importance and efficacy of the Vedic hymns,[2] the details of the worship of various gods, religious gifts of *Purāṇa*[3] etc. Thus, all these chapters assigned to Puṣkara as a narrator embody topics on varied subjects like social customs, science of Government, religious worship and ritualistic practices. Dhanvantari, the father of the Indian science of medicine (Āyurveda), is introduced in the *Purāṇa* as a narrator of the topics connected with the science of Medicine. These chapters give an account of the ailments and their cure, and the diseases of cows[4] etc. The portion on grammar as found in the extant *Purāṇa*[5] is narrated by Skanda. Thus these supplementary additions were in keeping with the encyclopaedic nature of the *Agni-purāṇa*.

43. *Miscellaneous matter* :—Besides more miscellaneous matter came to be added with the progress of time, thus making the work quite elaborate. These additions comprise the portions narrated by Hayagrīva,[6] Bhagavān,[7] Rāma,[8] Samudra,[9] Pālakāpya,[10] Śālihotra,[11] Kumāra[12] and Yama.[13] The chapters thirty-nine to forty-seven deal with more elaborate details about the installation and worship etc. of the god Viṣṇu and others, the characteristics of buildings sacred to these gods, and the images of the gods. This is followed by a still elaborate account of the installation and worship of several *Vaiṣṇavite* and *Śaivite* deities, even minor ones. This account represents the practical side of the religion of the common people embodying the latest phase of poular Hiudrism.[14] The chapters, 243–244 describe the characteristics and special features of men and women. This account is inserted in the description of the science of Government.[15] The account of the cure of the diseases of elephants,[16] horses[17] etc., seems to have been interpolated in

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1. Chap. 220–237; 2. Cha. 259–264; 3. Cha. 266–272.
4. Chap. 279–286; 288, 292; 5. Chap 349–356;
6. Chap. 39–47; 7. Chap. 48–70; 8. Chap. 238–242;
9. Chap. 243–244; 10. Chap. 287; 11. Chap. 289–291;
12. Chap. 357–359; 13. Chap. 382; 14. Chap. 48–70
15. Chap. 243–244; 16. Chap. 287; 17. Chap. 289–292;

the chapters on the science of Medicine. Three chapters[1] are added to the portion dealing with grammar and one[2] to the summary of the *Bhagavadgītā*. The above analysis clearly indicates the process by which the *Agni-purāṇa* came to be compiled and developed by the addition of matter bearing on different topics. This process may have covered a period of three or four centuries.

44. External evidence is available to show that the extant *Agni-purāṇa* is not the same as its original counter-part and that it had to pass through a long process of development before it assumed its extant form. The *Matsya*[3] and *Skanda*[4] *Purāṇas* describe the *Agni-purāṇa* as "That *Purāṇa* which describes the occurrence of *Īśānakalpa* and was related by Agni to Vasiṣṭha is called the *Āgneya*". Though in the extant *Agni-purāṇa* Agni narrates the account to Vasiṣṭha, there is no reference to *Īśāna-Kalpa*, the *Varāha-Kalpa* being mentioned in connection with the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu.[5] In the opinion of R. C. Hazra,[6] "This disagreement between the description in the *Matsya* and the *Skanda Purāṇa* and the contents of the present *Agni* shows that the latter is not the earlier *Agni-p.* which was noticed by these two Purāṇas. This apocryphal character of the present *Agni* is further evidenced by the verses quoted from the *Agni-purāṇa* or *Āgneya* in the Smṛti–nibandhas but not found in the present *Agni*. The express mention of Vasiṣṭha and the king Ambarīṣa as interlocutors, and the occurrence of the words Kuruśārdūla, Vīra, Rājan, Nṛpa, Rājendra etc. in the vocative case in many of the quoted passages prove that in the original (or rather earlier) *Agni-purāṇa*, Vasiṣṭha spoke to the king Ambarīṣa at least on the various topics on Dharma. Moreover, in one of the verses quoted from the *Āgneya p.* in the *Tīrtha–cintāmaṇi*, Sūrya is mentioned as the speaker and in another Viṣṇu speaks to Gaṅgā (c. f. *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi*, pp 206 and 263). In the present *Agni p.*, however, there is no interlocution between Vasiṣṭha and the king Amba-

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[1] Chap. 357–359 [2] Chap. 381; [3] 53/23;
[4] 7/1/2, 47. [5] *Ag.* 2/17; [6] *SPRH* p. 134.

rīṣa or between Viṣṇu and Gaṅgā, and there is also no chapter in which Sūrya is the speaker. The ahove facts considered together prove definitely that the present *Agni-p.* is not the earlier one."

45. *Sources :*—A critical study of the contents of the *Agni Purāṇa* reveals not only the process of development of the *Purāṇa* but also the multifarious sources from which the author or authors of this encyclopaedic compilation derived matter for it. In the introductory chapter itself, it is clearly admitted that the *Purāṇa* proposed to give the essence of various branches of knowledge both *Parā* (higher) and *Aparā* (lower). In keeping with this ideal, the *Purāṇa* owes its existence to various works dealing with religion, mythology, philosophy, science of government, art, literature, etc. The variou sources of the extant *Agui Purāṇa* may be briefly summed up as under:-

46. *Earlier Purāṇas :*—The general structure of the *Purāṇa*, especilly the portion dealing with the various religious practices, observances, ritualism etc. is based on the pattern of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, between which and the *Agni-purāṇa* several points of agreement may be discerned.[1] The portion dealing with *Avatāras* and giving other mythological account of creation and dissolution of the universe, the primeval sages etc. may be traced to the earlier *Purāṇas* like the *Viṣṇu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* etc; the *Gayā-mahātmya* is borrowed from the *Vāyu-purāṇa*.

47. *Pañcarātra-saṁhitās :*—The portions dealing with the religious practices and rites as also the details about the worship of various deities may be traced to the *Pañcarātra-saṁhitās*. The chapters in the extant *Agni-purāṇa* on these topics are the summaries of those from the *Pañcarātra-saṁhitās*.[2]

48. *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Havivaṁśa :*—The chapters on the incarnation of Rāma Dāśarathi are merely the summary of the account in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the beginning of the account, the god Agni[3] says, "I am going to describe the *Rāmāyaṇa*

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[1] *Iibd.* p. 136. ff; [2] *Ibid* p. 135 ff. [3] *Agn.* 5/1;

in the manner in which Nārada formerly related it to Vālmīki." According to Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, the narrator Nārada narrates the story of Rāma to Vālmīki.[1] A comparative study of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Agni-purāṇa* will clearly show how the latter has adopted the story of Rāma from the former. The author of the *Purāṇa*, as in other cases also, has not tried to borrow verses from the *Rāmāyaṇa* to be included in his work, but has simply summarized, more or less, in his own words, the story of Rāma as given by Vālmīki. The *Purāṇa* devotes separate chapters to each one of the seven *Kāṇḍas* and those chapters are titled as *Kāṇḍas*.[2] Thus the incidents of the seven *Kāṇḍas* from the *Bālakāṇḍa* to the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* are summarised in the chapters five to eleven both inclusive. Similarly, while giving an account of the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, the *Purāṇa*[3] gives the account of the genealogy of *Kṛṣṇa*, as given in the *Harivaṁśa* occurring in the *Mahābhārata*. The story of the *Mahābhārata* itself, in general, is summarized[4] with the title *Bhāratākhyānam*. In these chapters, we find a brief account of the genealogy and birth of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, as also a short survey of the battle and other deeds of the Pāṇḍavas.

49. *Smṛti Literature, Manu, Yājñavalkya and Nārada* :— The portion[5] dealing with the duties of the four Varṇas and the Āśramas, various sacraments, daily conduct of life, Śrāddha and other ritualism, various sins and expiations etc. are purely adopted from the Smṛti literature. Similarly, the chapters[6] dealing with the administration of justice and boundary disputes are also taken from the same source. *Manu, Yājñavalkya* and *Nārada* are the main source of inspiration for the Purāṇic writer. In adopting the portions from the Smṛtis, the Purāṇic author has ndopted, to a very great extent, the method of the

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[1] *Rām. Bālakāṇḍa I*

[2] Chapter V *Bālakāṇḍa;* Chap. VI, *Ayodhyākāṇḍa;* Chap. VII, *Araṇyakāṇḍa;* Chap. VIII. *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa;* Chap. IX *Sundarakāṇḍa;* Chap. X *Yuddhakāṇḍa;* Chap. XI *Uttarakāṇḍa.*

[3] Chap. XII.

[4] Chap. XIII-XV.

[5] Chap. 151-174.

[6] 253-257.

treatment of the topics as also the style of the original. The verses describing these topics seem to be the counter-part of those in *Manu* or *Yājñavalkya* with merely a slight modification. The chapters 155 and 156 on *Ācāra* and *Dravyaśuddhi* respectively agree in point of treatment, style and subject-matter with the corresponding topics described in the *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya*. The ten characteristics of *Dharma* given in the *Manusmṛti*[1] have been bodily adopted by the *Purāṇakāra*.[2] In the case of the portion dealing with expiation of sins, much seems to have been added at a later stage.[3] The chapter 170 indicates the existence of untouchability, more or less, in its modern form and as such, it may have been added at a later stage. Similarly, the chapter 172 is definitely a very late addition. Because the *Stotra-prāyaścittas* are not known to the Smṛti literature, even the later glosses and commentaries do not mention them. These may have been introdueed in the Purāṇas at a later stage when the cult of Viṣṇu was all powerful.

50. *Works on Science of Gavernment* :—The chapters 218–227, 234, 235, and 238–242 deal with various topics cannected with the science of Government e. g. the royal coronation, the duties of the king, the duties of the king's officers, establishment of law and order, *Sāma* and other means of attaining one's objective, daily duties of the king, the six *Guṇas* etc. These topics constitute the common stock of knowledge about the science of government adopted by the various writers. Kauṭilya was the best exponent of these topics and he could succeed in inspiring the subsequent writers on the subject like Kāmandaka and others. As for the *Agni–purāṇa*, it has adopted the chapters from the *Kāmadakīya Nītisāra*, which was regarded as authoritative at the time, and the *Matsya purāṇa*.

51. *Yuddha-Jayārṇava* :—The chapters 123–143 are merely the summary of the *Yuddha-Jayārṇava*. The first verse of 123rd chapter clearly states that the substance of the *Yuddha-Jayārṇava* is being described.[4]

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[1] VI, 92.

[2] Agn. 161/17.

[3] Chap. 170-175.

[4] *SPRH*, p. 137, note 128

52. *Suśruta, Caraka, etc.* :—The chapters 279–286 of the *Agni-purāṇa* dealing with various topics connected with the science of medicine, e. g. medicines, diseases, properties of medicinal preparations etc. seem to have been borrowed from the works on the science of Medicine by the earlier writers like Suśruta, Caraka and Vāgbhaṭa. The chapter 287 dealing with elephant-cure is adopted from Pālakāpya's work on the subject. Similarly, the chapter 289 on the horse-cure is taken from Śālihotra's work.

53. *Philosophical Works, Yogasūtra, Vedānta, Gītā* :—The chapters 372 to 376 describing the eight limbs of the Yoga-system of philosophy are decidedly adopted from the *Yogasūtras* of Patañjali. The author of the *Agni-purāṇa* has tried to sum up the account of the eight-limbed *Yoga* (*Aṣṭāṅga-Yoga*) as given in the *Pātañjala Sūtras*. The chapters 377 to 380 giving an account of of the main tenets of the Vedānta philosophy are adopted from the *Vedānta Sūtras* of Bādrāyaṇa Vyāsa. The chapter 381 titled *Gītāsāra* summarizes the philosophical treatise *Bhagavadgītā*.

54. *Literary Works* :—In all forty[1] chapters are devoted to the treatment of various literary topics *viz.* science of metres,[2] phonetics,[3] the characteristics of Kāvya,[4] dramaturgy,[5] poetics,[6] grammar[7] and lexicography.[8] These chapters are important from the literary point of view.

55. *Piṅgala's Chandasūtras* :—The portion[9] describing the science of metres summarizes chapter by chapter the various topics given in Piṅgala's *Chanda sūtras*. The *Agni-purāṇa*-portion on metres is merely the summary and in some cases paraphrase and even at times reproduction of the corresponding chapters in the *Piṅgala Sūtras*. The treatment of the *Agni-purāṇa* is a bit clumsy, it is not clear and effective, the author's idea being merely to present in nut-shell all that was contained in Piṅgala's work.

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[1] Chap. 328–367; [2] Chap. 328–335; [3] Chap. 336.
[4] Chap. 337; [5] Chap. 338 342; [6] 343–347;
[7] Chap. 349–359; [8] Chap. 360–367; [9] Chap. 328–335

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56. *Pāṇini's Śikṣā* :—The chapter 336 titled *Śikṣā–nirūpaṇa* merely reproduces most of the verses from Pāṇini's Śikṣā. In some cases, the verses are given in a changed order or a slightly modified form.

57. *Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, Dhanañjaya's Daśarūpaka* :—The chapters on dramaturgy dealing with the characteristics of dramatic composition, sentiments, diction, dance and various dramatic actions of the limbs, acting etc. have been adopted from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata Muni and the *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya. The portions dealing with dramatic actions have been bodily adopted from the *Nāṭya Śāstra,* though in this process the original text has suffered much as is clearly noticed by a comparative study of the two.

58. *Poetics, Nāṭyaśāstra, Daṇḍin*'s *Kāvyādarśa* :—The chapters on poetics[1] dealing with the embellishments of word and sense, the literary merits and the literary defects present an independent Alaṅkāra tradition borrowed from the works on poetics extant when the borrowing took place but now non-existent. In them, there is also discernible material borrowed from Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra,* and *Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa,* from where even whole verses have been adopted in the *Purāṇa.* Certain traces of the principle of *Dhvani* are also noticeable in the *Agni–purāna*, which agree to some extent with those in the *Dhavanyāloka.*

59. *Kaumāra grammar* :—The ehapters on grammar[2] dealing with *Sandhi*, case–endings, genders, *Kāraka, Samāsa,* nominal derivations, conjugation of verbal roots, verbal derivations etc, summarize topic by topic the subject-matter of the Kaumāra grammar.

60. *Amara Kośa* :—The chapters 360 to 367 summarize in a very crude manner the contents of the various chapters of the *Amarakośa.* The author of the chapters of the *Agni-purāṇa* has very clumsily borrowed verses from the *Amarakośa* having taken them out of their proper context, one line of a particular

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[1] Chap. 343–347; [2] Chap. 349–356

verse being associated with the other of an altogether different verse, thus trying to make his account appear original.

61. Thus the *Agni-purāṇa,* encyclopaedic as it is, has derived its subject-matter from various sources viz. the earlier Purāṇas, the epics, the Dharamśāstra literature, the works on the Science of Government, the works on the Science of Medicine, philosophical treatises, and the works on dramaturgy, poetics, grammar, phonetics, lexicorpraphy etc. This brief survey of the sources of the *Agni-purāṇa* clearly indicates that by putting together matter drawn from various sources, the compiler of the *Purāṇa* produced a vertiable encyclopædia, how-so-ever crude it may be.

62. *Date :*—The problem of the date of the Purāṇas in general and that of the *Agni-purāṇa* in particular is set with difficulties and hence not easy of solution. The *Agni-purāṇa,* as a whole, does not seem to be the product of one pen at a definite period of time, as is the case with the works of poets and other writers, which are the result of individual efforts. The *Agni-purāṇa* as also the other Purāṇas represents the efforts of more than one writer stretching over a long period of time.

While discussing the date of the *Agni-purāṇa,* the scholars like P. V. Kane, S. K. De, Harprasad Sastri, H. C. Hazra etc. make a wrong approach to the problem. They arrive at their conclusions by judging stray references to particular things and the contents of particular chapters quite out of the context of a particular phase of development of the *Purāṇa.* The work as a whole cannot be assigned to a particular date. P. V. Kane[1] assigns the extant *Agni-purāṇa* to about 900 A. D. because, according to him, "The text of the *Vyavahāra* section of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* preserved in the *Agni-purāṇa*[2] is intermediate between the text of *Viśvarūpa* and that of *Mitākṣarā.* As Viśvarūpa flourished about 800–825 A. D., the *Agni-purāṇa* represents a text of *Yājñavalkya* current some-what later i.e. about 900 A. D." Again according to the same scholar, "the *Alaṅkāra* section of the *Agni-purāṇa* quotes Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha and evinces a knowledge of the theory of *Dhvani* ; hence the *Purāṇa* may have been composed near about 900 A. D." S. K. De[1] and Harprasad Shastri[2] assign the *Purāṇa* to a period between 800 and 900 A. D. "The general date" in the opinion of R. C. Hazra[3] "seems to be supported by other evidences also. Tāntricism in the sections on astronomy and medicine which has been mentioned among the different branches of the Aparā Vidyā, shows thnt the date of the *Agnī-purāṇa* cannot possibly be earlier than 800 A. D., because from an examination of the *Matsya, Varāha* and other Purāṇas, we understand that the Tāntric elements began to be absorbed appreciably by the Purāṇas not earlier than about 800 A. D." About the date of the *Purāṇa*, he says, "there can be no serious objection if we hold that the present *Agni-purāṇa* was compiled some time during the ninth century." A critical examination of the contents of the extant *Agni-purāṇa* clearly shows that it is a product of an age which was surcharged with the cult of Bhakti in its fully developed form, when diflerent deities had arisen in popular estimate and when literature, philosophy, science, art etc. had attained development and become popular. Epigraphic, numismatic, literary and other evidence shows that such a phase of all-sided cultural progress in its matured form was witnessed in the post-Gupta age. Hence, the original *Agni-purāṇa* reflecting this cultural phase may have been the product of this age. Owing to the growig popularity of the *Purāṇa*, subsequent additions were made and hence the *Purāṇa* passed through different phases of development before it attained its extant form. This process may have covered at least about three centuries. Hence the development of the *Purāṇa* from its original to its extant form may be assigned to about 700 or 800 A. D. to 1000 or 1100 A. D.

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[1] *H. D.* Vol. I. p. 172.

[2] Chap. 253/32 to Chap. 258.

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[1] *S. P.* Vol. I, p. 104. *JRAS*. 1923, IV, pp. 537–549.

[2] *Catalogue of Sanskrit* Mss. *Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Vo. V, p. CLI.

[3] *SPRH*. 138–139.

63. *Development* :—An analytic study of the extant *Agni-purāṇa* clearly shows that the *Purāṇa* had to pass thsough a process of devolopment before it attained its extant form. The earliest phase is reprcsented by the chapters where Agni is the narrator. The portions constituting this phase of development evince complete dominance of Vaiṣṇavite traits. From independent sources like that of epigraphy[1] etc. several instances of dominance of the Bhāgavata or Viṣṇu cult are available. It may be established that *Vaiṣṇavism* was a dominant force in India, especially in the north and the east during the first six or seven centuries of the Christian era. So this phase of development may roughly be assigned to the seventh or eighth century of the Christian era. Another important phase of development is represented by the chapters where Īśvara is the narrator and the dominance of Śaivite and Tāntric traits is easily discernible. The details about the worship of the god Śiva and all his paraphernalia, and other deities, as also about the various Cakras and the Maṇḍalas of the Tāntric worship mark this particular phase. From independent evidence, it may be stated that it was after the 7th or 8th century onwards that Śaivism and Tāntricism began to assert themselves against the dominance of *Vaisṇavism*,[2] and in the words of R. C. Hazra, "from an examination of *Matsya*, *Varāha*, and other Purāṇas we understand that the Tāntric elements began to be absorbed appreciably by the Purāṇas not earlier than about 800 A. D.".[3] Thus this phase of development of the *Agui-purāṇa* may roughly be assigned to the 9th century A. D., a century that witnessed the dominance of Tāntricism and Śaivism. The next and perhaps, the final phase of development is represented by the chapters containg miscellaneous matter bearing on diverse subjects. Thus, minor details about the worship of various deities and some other topics came to be embodied in the

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[1] *G. I* ; *V. S. M.* pp. 42-46.

[2] Ibid. pp. 115-119, 142-147, 155-157;

[3] *SPRH*. pp. 138-139.

Purāṇa and in the course of a century or two, the *Purāṇa* assumed its extant form. The process may have started about the 10th century A. D. and continued till the 11th. All the chapters giving unnecessary minor details about the worship of minor deities or describing some other topics may conveniently be assigned to this phase of development. Thus the *Agni-purāṇa* attained its extant form as a result of a long process of elaboration and amplification representing different phases of development and covering roughly a period of about three centuries (A. D. 700 or 800 to 1000 or 1100 A. D.). This chronological scheme is supported by the evidence of the works on diverse subjects drawn upon by the *Agni Purāṇa.*

During the Gupta golden age (400 A. D. to 600 A. D.), India witnessed unprecedented progress in the economic and cultural spheres of life. Religion, philosophy, literature, art and science made wonderful progress during this age. Some of the best books on these subjects may be dated to this period. In the domain of religion, the cult of Bhakti got firmly established and the worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya and other gods became very popular. Beautiful temples began to be constructed in honour of the deities. The popular beliefs and superstitions and the religious practices as discernible in the *Agni-purāṇa* may also have gained ground during this period. The Dharmaśāstra literature also attained its growth during this period. The *Manusmṛti*[1] and the *Yājñavalkya*[2] *Smṛti* had become authortitative at this time. Hence they were adopted in the *Agni-purāṇa.*

64. In the domain of philosophy, the *Sāṁkhya Kārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa may be assigned to the earlier part of this period. The *Yogasūtras* of Patañjali, though still earlier in date, must have wielded a great influence on the minds of the learned. So also the Vedānta philosophy may have been very popular in those days. The *Agni-purāṇa* embodies the Yoga doctrines and certain fundamentals of the Vedānta philosophy.

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[1] *EHI.* pp. 322. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 325-326.

65. In the domain of literature also wonderful progress was made during the Gupta period. Bharata Muni's *Nāṭyaśāstra,*[1] though belonging to perhaps 2nd or 3rd century A. D. and Piṅgala's[2] *Chandasūtra* (3rd or 2nd century B. C.) must have wielded a tremendous influence on the minds of literary persons. Daṇḍin's *Kavyādarśa*[3] (6th or 7th century A. D.), Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*[4] and Dhavnikāra's works,[5] Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpaka*[6] (974–995 A. D.), Kaumāra grammar[7] (400–700 A. D.), *Amarakośa*[8] and and *Kūmandakīya Nītiśāra*;[9] all these works have supplied matter covering several chapters to the *Agni-purāṇa.*

66. Similarly arts including architecture, sculpture, iconography etc., and sciences also flourished during this period. Though no elaborate treatnent of these is to be found in the *Agni-purāṇa,* still details about the construction of temples and other buildings as also images are not lacking. Science of medicine as propounded by Suśruta and Caraka and later on developed by Vāgbhaṭa and others must also have been a living force in the Gupta and post-Gupta period. Hence its elaborate treatment in the *Agni-purāṇa* along with other allied sciences like anatomy, physiology etc., is not out of place.

67. The *Agni-purāṇa* has taken much matter from the earlier Purāṇas like the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya* and those Purāṇas also belong to the Gupta golden[10] age. Hence the *Agni-purāṇa* may be assigned to the post-Gupta period.

68. Thus the *Agni-purāṇa* embodies in nutshell the various aspects of cultural progress which was witnessed during the Gupta golden age and which got matured and became very popular during the post-Gupta age. To sum up, it may be remarked that the *Agni-purāṇa* is mainly the product of the

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[1] *SD.* pp. 291–92, also n. 3. [2] *HS.* p. 48.

[3] *HSP.* No. 96–125 ; *His.* S. pp. 530–533.

[4] *SP* Vol. I. pp. 64–70 ; *H. S.* pp. 375–76.

[5] *His. S.* pp. 540–545. [6] *EHI.* p. 410. [7] *H. S.* pp. 431 ff.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 413 ff. [9] *CA.* pp. 299–300. [10] *Ibid.* p. 298.

post-Gupta age, an age that saw remarkable development in the domain of religion, philosophy, literature, art, science etc. The *Purāṇa* reflects the various cultural tendencies that had become very popular in the later Gupta age and post-Gupta age. That the author of the *Purāṇa* in the very introductory chapter proposes to give the essence of various branches of learning is an indication of the popularity of the religious beliefs, philosophical tenets, art, literature and science, that had attained their growth as a result of the cultural achievements of the Gupta period. Thus the *Agni-puāṇa* may easily be assigned to the post-Gupta age, to a period between A. D. 700 or 800 to A. D. 1000 or 1100.

69. *Religious and Social conditions as reflected in the Agni-Purāṇa_*:—The *Agni purāṇa,* encyclopaedic as it is, reflects the religious and social conditions of the period A. D. 700 or 800 to A. D. 1000 or 1100, and is an epitome of the cultured life during the period, embodying religious beliefs, superstitions, religious observances and practices including magic and witchcraft regarded as enemy-killer and disease-cure of the masses, rituals like Śrāddha etc. of the priestly classes, the social customs and practices possessing legal sanction of the self-conscious citizens, the speculative tendencies of the philosophical-minded and the literary activites of the cultured and refined intellectuals.

70. *Worship of various deities :*—As for the religious life reflected in the *Agni-purāṇa,* it may be suggested that during the period of development of the *Purāṇa,* the popular form of Hinduism was the order of the day. Devotion to and worship of the various gods, e. g. Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Varuṇa etc. may be regarded as the characteristic feature of the religious life. These gods were to be worshipped to the recital of the Vedic hymns[1] and were to be borne in procession through the city.[2] This practice of taking the images of various deities in procession through the city was noticed by Yuan Chwang

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[1] *Agn.* 60/1-12.

[2] *Ibid.* 60/12.

(A. D. 629–645), the Chinese traveller, at Kanauj, the capital of Harṣa, and also at other places.[1] It was in vogue even in Central Asia when the Chinese traveller visited it. Even at the present day, the practice is in vouge mostly in south India and also in the Deccan. Besides, observance of various religious vows, religious gifts to the Brāhmaṇas etc., visiting places of religious importance and construction of temples in honour of the gods and the goddesses were considered to be pious acts and constituted the fundamental of religious life in those days. Spirit of toleration was the chief characteristic of religious life of the period. In the *Agni–purāṇa*, the worship of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva and various other deities is freely advocated. The spirit of intoleration is altogether absent, though great stress is laid on the worship of Viṣṇu.

71. *Influence of Tāntricism.* :—The Tāntricism also seems to have exercised tremendous influence on the religious life of the period, that is why, in the *Agni-purāṇa* so much of Tāntricism is to be found. The detailed description of the various Maṇḍalas, Cakras, *Mantras*, mystic syllables etc., and several other Tāntric practices bears clear testimony to the influence, which the Tāntricism wielded over society. This may well be illustrated by mentioning a few details of such worship occurring in the *Purāṇa*.

72. *Tāntric Rites.* :—The chapters 143 and 144 of the *Agni-purāṇa* give the Tāntric worship of Kubjikā in different stages. It is described as of great importance by means of which even the gods conquered the demons and regained their lost kingdon of paradise with all its wealth and celestial weapons. In this connection, Kavaca-mantras possessing protective virtues, Maṇḍalas, mystic diagrams and various attendant rites are described. The worship of the blissful Kubjikā, who grants wealth and victory to her votaries, should be conducted with principal Mantras. The rite of *Karāṅganyāsa* has to be performed and the votary should finish his *Sandhyā* addressing

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[1] *BRW.* part II *V*; *E. H. I.* p. 355.

the goddes as Raudrī, Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā etc. The Pādukās of the goddess should be worshipped. By the rite of *Ṣoḍaśanyāsa*, the votary should locate in his inner being the deities such as Gaṅgā, Caṭulī, Ātmā, Padmānanda, Maṇi, Kāla, Kamalā etc. The Pādukās of the god Śiva such as Ananta and Mahā Ananta should be worshipped by placing a flower on the mystic diagram. The sacred mountains, places and their presiding deities such as Jālandhara, Kāmarūpa, Udyāna, Gaganānanda or Svargānanda with their attributes should be worshipped. Similar worship of other deities in all details is described in several places in the *Agni-purāṇa*.

73. *Superstitions and witchcraft* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* gives also an inkling into the superstitions, magic and such other things confined to the lowest strata of the society. The chapter 31 gives an interesting account of the superstitions and beliefs of the lower strata of society. Here Vāsudeva is invoked to remove the evil effects of various diseases, evil spirits, goblins, planets, etc. The chapter 315 gives an interesting account of balck magic containing incantations for bringing about the destruction of the enemies.[1]

74. *Mysterious drugs etc.* :—The chapter 140 gives an account of the drugs and articles possessed of mysterious properties, which are to be used to make the charm etc, effective. Collyrium and unguents prepared out of these drugs and possessing mysterious powers are also mentioned. A man bearing Tilaka mark on his nose of fourth, sixth and third drugs would be able to charm the three worlds.[2]

75. *Incantations* :—The chapter 142 gives an account of medicinal or curative incantations granting wished for objects to individuals. The process of reckoning the birth of a male or a female child in the womb is given. A diagram called *Śānti-cakra* is described by which the malignant influence of the saturn lying in the particular part of the globe on a particular day may be ascertained. A reference is made to an

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1 *Agn.* 315/1, 2, 7, 2. *Ibid.* 140/10

incantation by which the body of a person may be made hard and proof against all blows and all weapons. The charm should be put in an amulet and worn at the neck or on the arm. This incantation should be used in all sorts of fevers and specially in cases where the influence of evil spirit is suspected; it may also be used against anything connected with spell or charm. These instances beyond all doubt establish that magic. witchcraft, charm, incantations possessing Tāntric tinge constituded the practical side of the religion of the masses, specially the lower strata in the society.

76. *Vedic ritualism not very popular* :—The Vedas, though regarded as divine revelation, did not exercise any direct influence on the religious life of the people as such. There may have existed Brāhmaṇas, whose sole objective of life may have been Vedic studies, but for an ordinary man the Vedas were too divine to be loosely talked of. The chapters 255 to 262 describing *Ṛgādividhāna* clearly show how Vedic hymns were merely to be meditated upon by the devotees, no reference being made to the cult of Vedic ritualism. This cult, perhaps, may not have been very popular.

77. *Karma theory* :—The theory of Karma is also indirectly hinted, but the conception of heaven and hell is more prominent. Selfless worship of a particular deity was expected to grant emancipation to the soul, which enjoyed enternal bliss in heaven.

78. *Varṇāśrama Institution* :—Society as reflected in the *Agni-purāṇa* is a full-fledged Hindu society based on the principle of the institution of *Varṇāśrama* and governed by the law-books of the eartier Smṛti writers like Manu and Yājñavalkya. The four Varṇas–Brāhamaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra were recognised, as also the four Āśramas–Brahamacarya, Gṛhastha, Vānaprastha and Yati. Various duties were prescribed for these Varṇas and the Āśramas. The domination of the Brāhmaṇas over the rest of the Varṇas was an important factor in the social build-up. For the same offence, a Brāhmaṇa would

get a milder punishment than a member of one of the three orders. The position of Śūdra seems to have been worst. As he belonged to the last order, he had to suffer even capital punishment for an ordinary offence.[1] The Chapter 170 on expiations clearly indicates the existence of untouchability, more or less, in its modern form. In the Gupta period, even Fahien noticed that a *cāṇḍāla* had to announce his approach, so that others may not be polluted by his touch.[2]

79. *Position of women :*—The position of women also was not much better. They could have no initiative. They had to depend on their parents in childhood, on hushands in youth and on their sons in old age. A woman should always be cheerful and skilled in household work. To whom-so-ever a girl is given by her father, him she should serve. On the death of her husband, she should observe *Brahmacarya*, and should havo no desire to enter into another's household. On no occount, she should be quarrelsome. She should avoid ornaments. This should be observed also by a lady whose husband is gone out. She should alwayas offer worship to the gods and be devoted to doing good to her husband. Some ornaments may be used just for the sake of auspiciousness. A woman, who enters fire with her dead husband, enters heaven.[3] Several references to flesh[4]-eating, especially at Srāddha ceremony,[5] occur in the *Purāṇa,* which show that flesh-eating was a common practice in the society depicted in the *Purāṇa.* Thus the social conditions as reflected in the *Agni-puaāṇa* present a picture of a rigid society bound down by time-old customs and religious practices and dominated by the priestly classes. But still the cult of *Bhakti* was a source of new life, vigour and energy to the society.

80. *Cultural progress :*—Inclusion of dramaturgy, poetics, lexicon, philosophy, medicine and other sciences and arts in the

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[1] *Agn.* 277/23

[2] *EHI.* p. 314

[3] *Agn.* 222/20ff

[4] *Ibid.* 198/10 ff

[5] *Ibid.* 117/35 ff.

Agni-purāṇa clearly shows that during the period of the development of the *Purāṇa*, a group of enlightend, highly educated and refined persons existed in society, which carried on the cultural activities in the society. It was this group that may have preserved and studied the works on dramaturgy, poetics, grammar, prosody, philosophy, science of medicine etc. These arts and sciences must have been regarded as a rich cultural heritage in society. Hence, the writer or writers of the *Agni-purāṇa* could not but embody in the *Purāṇa* the best contained in them. Thus it may be stated that as in the Gupta age, so also during the period of the *Agni-purāṇa*, art, literature, science, religion and philosophy flourished and made wonderful progress.

81. *Evidence of Yuan-chwang and Itsing, Epigraphic evidence :*—This picture of the religious and social conditions may also be corroborated by other historical evidence. The accounts of the Chinese travellers Yuanchwang and Itsing, the epigraphic records of the later Gupta period, the age of Harṣa and the Gurjara-Pratihāras supply corroborative evidence. Besides, the *Manu* and the *Yājñavalkya Smṛtis* as also a few of the later Smṛtis amply support the accout of the society as given in the *Agni-purāṇa*. In the light of this, the great importance of the *Agni-purāṇa* in the social, literary and cultural history of the period (700 or 800 A.D. to 1000 or 1100 A.D.) can hardly be over-estimated.

82. *Conclusion :*—Thus *Agni-purāṇa* gives a complete picture of the society during the period 700 or 800 A. D. to 1000 or 1100 A. D., reflecting the religious beliefs and practices, as also social customs and manners of the masses, and the intellectual progress of the *elite* as revealed in the developmeut of arts, sciences, religion, philosophy and literature.

83. *A critical review, Literary importance of the Agni-purāṇa, summing up of works on diverse subjects :*—The *Agni-purāṇa* is not a piece of literature in the technical sense of the term, where a writer tries to show his command over the language and the beauty of his style. It is summing up of the

various works on religion, literature, philosophy, sociology, science, art etc. It also embodies whole chapters from independent works and in some cases the treatises as such are incorporated in it. The *Purāṇa* originally reflected, to a great extent, unity of authorship as also the set purpose of composing a Purāṇa in the technical sense of the term adhering to the *Pañca-lakṣaṇa*[1] theory with a view to give the essence of all the higher and the lower *Vidyās*, as is clearly stated in the introductory chapter.[2] With the progress of time subsequent additions were made to the *Purāṇa*, which attained development. Thus the extant *Agni-purāṇa* is a summarization as also compilation of various works and treatises on diverse subjects.

84. The extant *Purāṇa* embodies in summary form the gist of the works like the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa, Gītā, Yoga-sūtras*, the authoritative works on poetics, science of polity, Dharmaśāstra literature, works on grammar, prosody, phonetics, lexicopraphy, science of medicine, archery, art of constructing temples, lxicopraphy, *Yuddhajayārṇava* and some other works. In the case of most of these, the whole works are summarized chapter by chapter in some cases in the author's own style and phraseology not comletely untouched by the original. Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*[3] is summarized in seven chapters, one chapter being assigned to one Kāṇḍa. The *Harivaṁśa* is summarized in one chapter[4] and the *Mahābhārata*

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[1] The colophon of the 19th chapter of the *Agnipurāṇa* names the chapter as" प्रतिसर्गवर्णनं नाम एकविंशोऽध्यायः ।"

Sarga, Vaṁśa, Manvantara etc. comprise the suject–matter of the preceeding chapter. This might suggest that the author was making a conscious effort at practical application of the *Pañca-lakṣaṇa* theory to his Purāṇa. This sort of conscious effort is hardly noticeable in the case of the earlier Purāṇas like the *Vāyu, Matsya Viṣṇu* ete ;

[2] *Agn.* 13-14 : "विष्णुः कालाग्निरुद्रोऽहं विद्यासारं वदामि ते । विद्यासारं पुराणं यत्सर्वं सर्वस्य कारणम् ॥ सर्गस्य प्रतिसर्गस्य वंशमन्वन्तरस्य च । वंशानुचरितादेश्च मत्स्यकूर्मादिरूपधृक् ॥"; *SPRH*, pp. 136–137

[3] Chap. 7–13; [4] Chap. 12;

in nearly three[1] chapters. In these chapters, the author of the *Purāṇa* has dealt with the main incidents of the work in brief. The essence of the *Gītā* is given in merely one[2] chapter containing fifty-eight verses. The *Chanda Sūtras* of Piṅgala are compressed in eight[3] chapters. The Kaumāra grammar is given in eight[4] chapters and the *Amarkośa* in eight[5] chapters, the *Suśruta Smṁhitā* in[6] eight chapters and the *Yuddha-Jayārṇava*[7] in 37 chapters. Similarly the *Dhanurveda*[8], *Pālkāpya's Hastyāyurveda*,[9] Śālihotra's *Aśvāyurveda*,[10] *Gavāyurveda*[11] etc., are all summarized. In summarizing these works, the author or authors generally, in the very first verse, either refer to the work to be summarized together with the name of the author, or make a straight reference to the work in the colophon or introductory portion, or even the chapters are titled as *Chanda Śāstra, Jyotiḥśāstra, Gītāsāra* etc.

85. In the case of poetics,[12] dramaturgy,[13] Dharmaśāstra,[14] science of polity,[15] *Pañcarātra-saṁhitā*[16] etc. the author has not merely given a summary chapter by chapter but has tried to compress the subject-matter in his own style, drawing his material from one or more standard works on the subject. Some-times, several verses have been borrowed *verbatim* from the original source, as in the case of the chapters dealing with Dharma,[17] Vyavahāra,[18] Dāyabhāga[19] etc. wherein several verses from the *Yājñavalkya* and the *Nārada Smṛtis* have been taken over.

86. *Three principles underlying the composition of the Agni-purāṇa* :—Thus, in general, three principles seem to have been

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[1] Chap. 13-15; [2] Chap 381; [3] Chap. 328-335;
[4] Chap. 349-356; [5] Chap. 360-367; [6] Chap. 279-286;
[7] Chap. 123-149; [8] Chap. 248; [9] Chap. 287;
[10] Chap. 289-290; [11] Chap. 292.
[12] Chap. 336-337; 341-345; [13] Chap. 340;
[14] Chap. 151-164, 252-257; [15] Chap. 238-242;
[16] Chap. 39-47; [17] Chap. 150-151;
[18] Chap. 252; [19] Chap. 255,

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adopted in the composition of the *Agni-purāṇa*—(i) summarizing the contents of a particular work chapter by chapter ; in such a case, the author or authors concentrated on a particular work as in the case of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, Piṅgala's *Chandaśūtra* etc.; (ii) summarizing the material available from standard works on a particular subject in the language and style of the Purāṇic author (of those portions in the *Agni-purāṇa*), though in some cases bearing the impress of the original, as in the case of the chapters on poetics, dramaturgy, Dharama-śāstra, science of polity etc ; (iii) adaptation of the whole of the chapters, as also the works without acknowledging the source as in the case of the chapters from the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, the *Nāradasmṛti*, *Amara-kośa*, *Pāṇinīyā Śikṣā*, *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* etc.

87. *Style of the Agni-purāṇa* :—As for the style of the *Agni-purāṇa* nothing of literary diction and poetic exuberance, as in case of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavata* etc., is to be found in it. The *Purāṇa* is written in the manner of the epics and other religious works in the simple *Śloka* metre without any verbosity or display of author's mastery over the language. But even the simple style, at times, is not withot defects. There is one great defect commonly noticeable in the *Purāṇa*. The two lines of a Śloka do not convey a complete meaning. Generally the first line is connected with the second line of the previous Śloka. In this way, two or three varses are to be considered together to get at the complete sense.[1] This may, perhaps, be due to the negligence of the editors as well. But its repetition on a large scale shows that those responsible for composing the verses may be responsible for the mistake. On the whole, as far as the style is concerned, the author's dictum seems to be—"*Brevity is the soul of wit*". The account of three incarnations is compressed in a short[2] chapter, whereas in other Purāṇas like the *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vāyu*, *Matsya*, *Viṣṇu* etc. such incarnations take one or even more chapters. The epi-

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[1] *Agn*. Chap. 170–336, [2] Chap. 4,

sode of Paraśurāma in the *Brahmāṇḍa* runs over several chapters. In the case of the *Agni-purāṇa,* the fundamental principle was to sum up all that comprised popular literature, folk-lore etc. This is to be noticed, perhaps, in the case of this Purāṇa alone, whereas the rest of the Purāṇas vie with one-another in the elaboration and exaggeration of a particular theme. At times, the author has not failed to present verbose prose in the manner of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. The *Narasiṁha-stuti*[1] is given in a peculiar style, perhaps, not to be noticed in the earlier Purāṇas. Long compounds lying interspersed remind one of Subandhu's and Bāṇa's prose. This divergence in the style of the *Purāṇa* may be due to several authors, who may have been responsible for shaping the extant *Agni–purāṇa.* Hence, it is not possible that the uniformity of style indicating the impress of one single mind may be noticeable in the *Purāṇa.* However, the unity of authorship may be true, to some extent, in the various phases of development of the *Purāṇa.*

88. *Authorship :*—The problem of the authorship of the *Agni-purāṇa* is also not so easy as it is generally supposed. As different phases of development of the *Purāṇa* have already been noticed in the case of the extant *Agni-purāṇa,* it is obvious that the *Purāṇa,* in its present form, is not the outcome of a single author's efforts, but at different times, different authors may have made their contribution, the scheme of the work as a whole remaining unaltered. Thus, the extant *Agni-purāṇa* may be regarded as the result of the efforts of a band of authors, separated by centuries from one-another. But a critical study of the chapters representing the early phase of development will show how a literary genius or geniuses wanted to present an encyclopædia of learning and practical religion in the post-Gupta period. Of course, it was a very laudable literary effort at that remote period. The author or authors may have been very religious-minded and confirmed devotees of the god Agni, hence the name *Agni-purāṇa* for such an encyclopædic

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[1] *Agn.* 63/3, ff.

work. With the progress of time, this encyclopædia did not fail to become very popular and additions came to be made to it by the subsequent authors at a later stage, as a consequence of which, it attained its extant form and came to be listed along with the Mahāpurāṇas.

99. *Literary Encyclopaedia :*—The *Agni-purāṇa* being an encyclopædia of learning and practical religion is not important merely as a Purāṇa embodying the religious beliefs of the society at a particular period of time but also as a great literary effort. Its literary importance can hardly be overestimated, and it should occupy a position of some eminence in the literary history of ancient India. It presents, in one single volume, the literary efforts of an age (post-Gupta age upto the 10th or 11th Century A. D.), in the domain of religion, philosophy, sociology, politics, art and sciences, (science of medicine, physiology, anatomy etc.).

Thus, in summing up, it may be remarked that this encyclopaedia of learning and practical religion is a product of an age, reflecting the intellectual, social and religious activities of the post-Gupta period upto the 10th or 11th century A. D. And the author or authors of this great work did not fail to adopt a popular and simple style, so that the work may be understood by the common people. In course of time, it acquired religious sanctimony and attained great popularity, and consequently, it began to be amplified, thus it assumed its extant form.

90. *Conclusion :*—In conclusion, it may be remarked that the extant *Agni-purāṇa* is important from the point of view of literature and culture of the post-Gupta period. There is another aspect of this work, which may be true of the Purāṇas in general. It represents the popular response to the great doctrines and ideas enunciated by the great writers on diverse subjects. Hence, a close study of the extant *Agni-purāṇa* will clearly show how the people at large were interested in the literary and cultural attainments of the period and looked upon

them with a religious eye. Thus, the literary and the cultural efforts of the period were not merely confined to the intellectual classes but were also popularised. In this sense, the *Agni-purāṇa* occupies a unique position in the literary history of ancient india, inasmuch as it brings together, with a conscious effort, the thoughts of the learned, the philosophical tenets of the great thinkers and the superstions, witchcraft and magic representing the religious beliefs of the massas. No other *Purāṇa* may be credited with this laudable effort. The *Agni-purāṇa* also represents, in this way, a very long journey from the *Purāṇa* of the earliest phase of development of Purāṇic literature.

CHAPTER II

TECHNICAL *LITERATURE*

(i) POETICS

A SURVEY

1. *Agni-purāṇa and Alaṅkāraśāstra :*—The *Agni-purāṇa* gives the treatment of the *Alaṅkāraśāstra* in nutshell, bringing together various elements constituting Kāvya.[1] The subject is treated under these heads :—the characteristics of Kāvya, the sentiments (Rasa), Sṛṅgāra[2] etc., the literary diction[3] (Rīti), literary embellishments of words (Śabdālaṅkāras), literary embellishments of sense[4] (Arthālaṅkāras), literary ambellishments of both word and sense[5] (Śabdārthayoralaṅkāras), the literary merits[6] (Guṇas) in Kāvya and the literary blemishes[7] in Kāvya. Thus, it is clear that a regular system of poetics is embodied in the *Agni-purāṇa*. Like the generality of the Alaṅkāra theorists, the *Purāṇa* discusses all the topics bearing on *Alaṅkāraśāstra* in a systematic order. The *Purāṇa* begins with the general treatment of the characteristics of Kāvya. A definition and a classification of Kāvya also find place in the treatment. Then it gives a brief account of Rasa, Rīti, the three varities of Alaṅkāra, Guṇas and Doṣas.

2. *Characteristics of Kāvya :*—The author of the Alaṅkāra portion in the *Agni-purāṇa* states, at the outset, like a grammarian the constitutents of speech or language *(Vāṅmaya)*, which are Dhavni (*Sphoṭa*, the cumulative impression of the letters), Varṇa (letters), Pada (inflected word), and Vākya[8] (sentence).

Distinguishing Kāvya from *Śāstra* (science, or subject of serious and systematic study) or *Itihāsa* (narrative), he states that Abhidhā (the power of denotation) is predominent in

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[1] Chap. 337, [2] Chap. 339, [3] Chap. 340,
[4] Chap. 344; [5] Chap. 345, [6] Chap. 346
[7] Chap. 347, [8] *Agn.* 337/1.

Kāvya and distinguishes it from other sciences and branches of learning.[1] Generalising in a philosophic manner, he states that securing birth in this world is difficult,[2] acquiring learning is still difficult, being a poet is more difficult, but poetic genius, orginality of ideas and power of discrimination are most difficult.

3. *Definition :*—Kāvya is defined as a composition, where literary ambellishments are evident, which possesses literary merits and is without literary blemishes.[3] While defining *Vākya,* one of the constituents of *Vāṅmaya,* he gives Daṇḍin's definition of *Kāvya Sarīra.*[4] "In brief, a sentence (*Vākya*) is a series of words possesing a delightful sense".[5] The Kāvya is classified into three divisions–*Gadya, Padya,* and *Miśra.*[6] *Gadya* :—Gadya is defined after the manner of Daṇḍin as unmetrical combination of words.[7] It is subdivided, according to form, into three clssses Cūrṇaka, Utkalikā and Gandhivṛtta. In Cūraṇka, there are short compounds and not very soft words. Cūrṇaka with long compounds becomes Utkalikā. In Gandhivṛtta, there is absence of very difficult compounds, and presence of mediocre arrangement of words, and it possesses semblances of verse-form. The Gadya Kāvya is again subdivided into five on the basis of its contents *viz.* (i) Ākhyāyikā, (ii) Kathā, (iii) Khaṇḍakathā, (iv) Parikathā and (v) Kathānikā.[8] In Ākhyāyikā, there should be detailed eulogistic account of the hero and the description of calamities like the abduction of girls, fight, separation etc. Its literary diction should be quite forceful *(Dīpta).* Its story is divided into Ucchvas (chapters), and Vaktra, Parivaktra matres are also used in it. The poet gives in brief his biographical sketch in Śloka metre. Kathā is that where for introducing the main theme, another episode is given. There are no Paricchedas (chapters).

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[1] *Ibid.* 337/2-3; [2] *Ibid.* 337/3-4; [3] *Ibid.* 337/7;

[4] *Kd.* I 10 : "शरीरं तावदिष्टार्थ-व्यवच्छिन्ना पदावली ।";

[5] *Agn.* 337/6 : "संक्षेपाद्वाक्यमिष्टार्थव्यवच्छिन्ना पदावली ।";

[6] *Ibid.* 337/8; [7] *Ibid.* 337/9; [8] *Ibid.* 337/12

in it. But sometimes there are Lambakas.[1] The Khaṇḍakathā is interwoven in Kathā in Catuṣpadī (Matres of four stanzas) form. The Parikathā contains a combination of the characteristics of Kathā and Ākhyāyikā. In the case of both Khaṇḍakathā and Parikathā, the hero is a minister, a merchant or a Brāhmaṇa, and Karuṇa (pathetic) and Vipralambha (love in sepration) of four varieties are the sentiments. The Kathānikā begins with Bhayānaka Rasa, and embodies Karuṇa (Pathetic). It is not very bombastic and forceful (*Udātta*).

4. *Padya* :—Padya or a verse is a combination of four quarters and is divided into two, Vṛtta and Jāti. Vṛtta is regulated by the number of letters, and Jāti by the number of syllabic instants in each quarter. The Vṛttas are divided into three–*Sama* (where the Pādas or quarters comprising the stanza are all similar), *Ardhasama* (where half the Pādas are similar) and Viṣama (in which the quarters are all disimilar).

5. *Classification of Kāvya* :—Padya is classified into seven subdivisions according to its contents *viz.* Mahākāvya, Kalāpa, Paryyāyabandha, Viśeṣaka, Kulaka, Muktaka, and Kośa.[2] A Mahākāvya is divided into Sargas and its language is Sanskrit. Its theme is connected with some historical incidents, celebrated personality or some supernatural events. Such political incidents as council of states, sending of embassies, as well as the marching out of soldiers in battle-array etc., should incidentally be touched upon, and care should be taken not to encumber its majesty with a dull monotony of detailed description. Śakvarī, Atijagatī, Ati–Śakvarī, Triṣṭubh, Puṣpitāgrā etc. are the metres that should be used in it. The cantos describe different indidents for the same theme and should not be too short or terse. The Mahākāvya should contain a charming and vivid account of cities, seas, mountains, seasons, the sun, the moon and the hermitages. The description of the forest, the garden, sport with maidens in water, drinking parties, festivities of love, the behaviour of

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[1] *Ibid.* 337/16 ff.

[2] *Ibid.* 337/21–24

the wanton girls, the miseries of love etc. should also be embodied in it. All the sentiments with their accesories should be delineated. All the literary dictions, qualities and embellishments should be utilised. The Mahākāvya thus constituted brings the title of *Mahākavi* to its author. A particular sentiment should predominate even in the midst of diverse topics described in it. It is the sentiment that forms the soul of an epic, the different topics only serve to bring it out to a greater prominence. The poet in the character of his heroes unrolls the whole universe as it were with its fourfold knowledge to the vision of his reader.[1] In the variety of Padya known as Kalāpa, the same metre is used throughout and the style used is Kaiśikī. Kalāpa comprises three couplets, Viśeṣaka four and Kulaka many. Muktaka consists of single stanzas all severally composed and with a special stress on the excellence of each. The Kośa comprises fine pieces of poesy as it were but not linked to each-other by any special spontaneity of ideas.[2]

6. *Alaṅkāras, Śabdālaṅkāras, their classification* :—The Alaṅkāras are meant to embellish the body of Kāvya and are divided into three classes, Śabdālaṅkāra, Arthālaṅkāra and Śabdārthālaṅkāra.[3] Nine Śabdālaṅkāras are mentioned and explained *viz.* Chāyā, Mudrā, Ukti, Yukti, Gumphanā, Vākovākya, Anuprāsa, Citra and Duṣkara.[4] Chāyā is an imitation of an idea not explicitly stated. It is divided into four classes, Lokokti (popular statement), Chekokti (reflecting double *entendre*), Arbhakokti (imitation of child-prattle), Mattokti (vulgar, irrelevant or inelegant speech). Mudrā is a device to exhibit peculiar traits of a poet's genius, which delights the reader. Ukti is a peculiar style of speech or composition full of sound arguments and has six differerent elements *viz.* Vidhi (precept), Niṣedha (prohibition), Niyama (rule), Aniyama (irregularity), Vikalpa (alternative) and Parisaṅkhyā (doubtful). Yukti is syllogism. Its six essential factors are Pada (terms),

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[1] *Ibid.* 337/24-32;

[2] *Ibid.* 337/33ff.;

[3] *Ibid.* 342/17-18;

[4] *Idid.* 342/19-20

Padārtha (subject), Vākya (statement), Vākyārtha (sense or significance of words), Viṣaya (proposition) and Prapañca (elucidation). Gumphanā is an adjustment of the words and their sense, adjustment according to the euphonistic similarity of words, adjustment according to logical sequence of sense, and adjustment according to natural order of succession. Vākovākya is an argumentative discussion. It is divided into two classes, (i) *Ṛju* (plain or straight talk) which may either be Pūrva-prāśnikā (the first objection to an argument) or Praśnapūrvikā (a question or an interrogative), (ii) Vakrokti (equivocation). It is by gesture, voice or intoxication. Anuprāsa is repetition of more than one letter, word and sentence conveying different sense. It is divided into two classes, according as the repetition is restricted to a single letter or to many. The single letter Anuprāsa has five sub-varieties *viz.* Madhurā, Lalitā, Prauḍhā, Bhadrā and Paruṣā. Madhurā ends with *Vi* and *Dh* coupled with *Nakāra* and separated from each other by *Ṛ* and *N*, disjoined by short vowels. The Varga Varṇas (Ku, Cu, Ṭu, Tu Pu) should not be repeated in more than five ways. Lalitā abounds in the use of such letters as *V*, *L*. Prauḍhā is marked by the use of letters of *Pavarga* and *Tavarga* coupled with *Refa* on their head, excepting the letters belonging to the two groups, and the fifth letter of each group. Bhadrā is the use of the rest of the letters. Paruṣā is where Uṣmā letters coupled with the above letters are repeated in close succession. All the vowels except *A* occur in profusion. *Anusvāra* and *Visarga*, the letters *Ś*, *Ṣ*, and *S* coupled with *Refa* as well as *A* and *H* separated from one another by *Antastha* largely mark the present figure. The five *Antastha* letters coupled with the *Uṣmā* Varṇas respectively mark the Karṇātī, Kauntalī, Kauṅkaṇī, Vanavāsikā, Drāvaṇī and Mādhavī. Many-letter repetition is called Yamaka, in which the repetition produces similarity of sound but diversity of meaning. It is divided into two classes—Avyapetam, where the letters repeated follow one-another in close succession, Vyapetam, where the letters repeated are placed at a distance. As a result of the combination of these two varieties of Yamaka four other sorts are available according to the occurring of the alliterated words in different places and quarters of the composition. These give rise to several other subdivisions of which most important ones are Pādānta Yamaka, Kāñcīya Yamaka, Ṣaṁsarga Yamaka, Vikrānta Yamaka, Padavī Yamaka, Āmreḍita, Caturvyavasitam and Mālā Yamaka.[1] Citra is a peculiar artistic arrangement of words in the shape of lotus, sword etc., in which the letters situate at the petals occupying the cardinal points of the compass such as north, south, east and west will convey one meaning when read in the natural order of rotation, and may signify quite a different meaning when read in an inverse order etc. The letters or words written in the angular petals of the diagram will be unequivocal in their significance. Thus in nutshell Citra is a composition exciting curiosity in the assemblage of the learned. It has seven varieties—Praśna, Prahelikā, Gupta, Cyuta, Datta, both Cyuta and Datta, and Samasyā.[2] Praśna is an ingeneous mode of asking a question. Prahelikā is twofold, Śābdī and Ārthī.[3] According to some it has sixteen varieties.[4]

Gupta is that where the answer lies hidden in the question. Cyuta is that when a letter is omitted from the intended answer. Datta is that where a letter is added to the intended answer. Ubhaya is that where a letter is both omitted and added.[5] A versification closely knit comprising parts of several ślokas is called Śamasyā as it combines one's own as well as other's effort. A versification accomplished with great difficulty indicating the power of a poet is called Duṣkara. Though without sentiment, it delights the learned. It may be sub-divided into three classes *viz.* Niyama, Vidarbha and Bandha.[6] The chief sub-varieties of Bandha are Gomūtrikā, Ardha-Bhramaṇam, Sarvatobhadram, Ambujam, Cakram, Cakrācakram, Daṇḍa and Muraja.[7]

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[1] *Agn.* 343/15–17 ; C. F. *Nāṭ. XVII.* 63–80.

[2] *Agn.* 343/22–23. [3] *Ibid.* 343/25–26. [4] C. F. *Kd.* III, 96–124.

[5] *Ibid.* 343/26–30. [6] *Ibid.* 343/31–34.

[7] *Ibid.* 343/36–37 ; C. F. *Kd.* III. 18 ff. Kp. IX, 67.

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7. *Arthālaṅkāras, classification* :—Arthālaṅkāras are described as desirable in poetic composition, without them even wordy embellishments do not become charming.[1] Without them, Sarasvatī, the goddess of speach is like a widow.[2] An analytic study of the Arthālaṅkāras is made in the *Purāṇa*[3] and in view of their eight basic elements, they are divided into eight categories, *viz.* Svarūpa (Natural state), Sādṛśya (Similitude), Utprekṣā (Poetic fancy), Atiśaya (exaggeration), Vibhāvanā (effect taking place without the cause), Virodha (contradiction), Hetu (reason) and Sama (evenness of description). Each one of these eight is explained and the embellishments depending on it are also mentioned.

8. (i) *Svarūpa* :—The natural state or condition of a thing which may be its own or extraneous. This is known as Svabhāvokti.

9. (ii) *Sādṛśya* :—It consists of the attributes of similarity and has four divisions *viz.* Upamā, Rūpaka, Sahokti and Arthāntaranyāsa.

10. Upamā is that where Upamāna (the standard of comprison) and Upameya (the thing to be compared) maintain their separate entity, though possessing internal similitude.[4] It is subdivided into two, Sasamāsā and Asamāsā. In all eighteen subdivisions of Upamā are given.[5] The subivisions of Upamā after the manner of Daṇḍin[6] are also given which are as under[7] :—

11. (i) *Dharmavastūpama* :—Where the simile is detected both from the recognition of similarity of attributes and from the similarity of the objects themselves.

(ii) *Parasparopamā*, where the objects of a simile reciprocally reflect as it were the attributes held by them in common and each of them stands as a standard of comparison for the other.

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1. *Agn.* 344/1. 2. *Ibid.* 344/2. 3. *Ibid.* 344/5.
4. *Ibid.* 344/5; 5. C. F. *Kp.* X, 1-10; 6. *Kd.* II, 14-65;
7. *Agn.* 344-10-21.

(iii) *Vaiparītyopamā*, where natural order of likening is reversed.

(iv) *Niyamopamā*, in which a thing is compared to one particular object to the exclusion of all others with the similar attributes.

(v) *Samuccayopamā* :—Where the similitude is established by the action, property and specific attributes of the standard of comparison.

(vi) *Atiśayopamā*, where one object through the exaggeration of its property is compared to another situate in a different place of receptacle.

(vii) *Mālopamā*, where an object is compared to several others possessing the same property with the former.

(viii) *Vikriyopamā*, where an object is compared with another of contrary effect.

(ix) *Adbhutopamā*, where an attribute is assigned to an object, which it does not naturally possess and then it is compared to a thing possessing a similar attribute.

(x) *Mohopamā*, where similarity between Upameya and Upamāna is established first and then one is mistaken for the other.

(xi) *Saṁśayopamā*, where Upameya cannot be distinguished from the Upamāna owing to confusing similarity between their attributes.

(xii) *Niścayopamā*, where no doubt exists as to the identity of the Upameya through the excellence of its attributes which the Upamāna as an inferior agent does not possess.

(xiii) *Vakyārthopamā*, where complete identity is established between Upameya and Upamāna by means of their common attributes.

(xiv) *Asādhāraṇopamā*, where the Upameya exceeds the Upamāna and is described as its own standard of comparison.

(xv) *Nindopamā*, where the Upameya is applauded more than the usual standards of comparison by depreciating the attributes of the latter.

(xvi) *Praśaṁsopamā,* where the excellence of Upameya is increased by extolling the attributes of the Upamāna usually likened to it.

Rūpaka is that where complete identity between Upameya and Upamāna is established on the basis of similarity of attributes.[1]

Sahokti is the description of the common action of two different objects possessed of similar attributes as coexisting.[2]

Ārthāntaranyāsa is that where a general proposition is cited to support a particular one. It is simply inference from general to particular and from particular to general[3].

12. (iii) *Utprekṣā* is that where Upamāna and Upameya are described as similar to each other in same respects with an indication, express or implied, of a probability of their identity founded on such similarity.

13. (iv) *Atiśaya*—It is an exaggerated description of the attributes of an object as found in common experience. It is of two kinds—(i) implying probability, and (ii) a *prima facie* absurdity.

14. (v) *Vibhāvanā* is that where an effect is described as taking place even in the absence of the cause.

Viśeṣa is that where an effect is described as not taking place even when the cause exists. It is of three kinds according as (i) genus, (ii) attributes and (iii) the effect of a cause go otherwise.

15. (vi) *Virodha*–It is an apparent incongruity, which is usual and can be explained away by properly construing the passage.

16. (vii) *Hetu* is that where a reason is stated for establishing a point under discussion. It is divided into two classes *viz.* (i) Kāraka, (Instrumental) and (ii) Jñāpaka (indicative). Kāraka (instrumental) consists in representing the facts, which are the natural precursors of and which irresistibly lead to the proof of another fact wished to be established or

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[1] *Ibid.* 344/22; [2] *Ibid.* 344/23; [3] *Ibid.* 344/24.

demonstrated. Jñāpaka (indicative) represents the incidents which follow on the wake of a particular one and indicates it accordingly. It is again divided into three classes in as much as it signifies the relation of cause and effect, or a natural relation or is brought about by the respective effect of any particular limiting rule.

17. *Śabdārthālaṅkāras, classification :*—The embellishments of word and sense placed together decorate a literary composition like a garland placed at one place decorating both the neck and the breast of a lady.[1] The Śabdārthālaṅkāras are divided into six classes, *viz.* Praśasti, Kānti, Aucitya, Saṅkṣepa, Yāvadarthatā, and Abhivyakti. Praśasti signifies the property of pleasurability effecting the minds of others and is classified under two heads, Premokti and Stuti. Kānti means a style of writing which is delightful both to a layman and an art-critic, and which is free from any difficulty or ambiguity as to the sense and the construction of a literary composition. Aucitya consists in opening a work in a vigorous but unexcited way. Saṅkṣepa is that where maximum sense is expressed in minimum words. Yāvadarthatā means the use of only as many words as are necessary to convey the meaning without even a word too much or too less. Abhivyakti signifies explicitness or directness in a literary composition and this explicitness in conveying the meaning depends on the three powers of the word known as *Vācakatva*[2] (indication or denotation), Lakṣaṇā (connotation) and Vyañjakatva (suggestiveness). Thus under the category of the Śabdārthālaṅkāras, the *Agni-purāṇa* includes also the Alaṅkāras commonly accepted as those of sense like Ākṣepa, Samāsokti, Apahnuti and Paryāyokta, as they come under Abhivyakti,

18. *Guṇas and Doṣas :*—The literary merits (Guṇas) and the blemishes (Doṣas) are also assigned their proper place in the scheme of poetics adopted in the *Agni-purāṇa*. According to the *Purāṇa*, poetry, though embellished, 'without literary

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[1] *Ibid.* 345/1;

[2] *Ibid.* 345/5-18.;

merits cannot be delightful just as a necklace is merely a burden on the graceless body of the ladies.[1] The Guṇas are regarded as essentials of Kāvya and in this connection one is reminded of Daṇḍin and Vāmana. The Guṇas are described as imparting lustre to the theme of the Kāvya and enhancing the beauty and sweetness of the description.[2] They are divided into two classes—Sāmānya (general), which are common to several components of Kāvya, Vaiśeṣika (specific), which confine themselves to certain specific parts. The Sāmānya Guṇas are subdivided into three—(i) those belonging to words, (ii) those belonging to sense, and (iii) those belonging to both words and sense combined. The Guṇas restricted to words and constituting, as it were, the body of Kāvya are seven in number *viz.* Ślesa (double *entendre*), Lālitya (grace), Gāmbhīrya (gravity), Saukumārya (softness or tenderness), Udāratā (richness of expression), Satī (purity), and Yaugikī,[3] and these may be defined as follows :—

(i) *Śleṣa* :—It is an arrangement of words or sound requiring least effort in pronunciation and capable of conveying two different senses.

(ii) *Lālitya* :—It is an arrangement of words modified by the Guṇas and the Adoṣas at the outset.

(iii) *Gāmbhīrya* :—It is an arrangement of words of grave and dignified sound conveying profound and liberal sense.

(iv) *Saukumārya* :—It is an arrangement of words which are not harsh and grating.

(v) *Udāratā* :—It is an arrangement of words producing in the minds of readers a noble feeling like that caused by the thought of a noble example of virtue or self- sacrifice.

(vi) *Ojās* :—It is an arrangement of words having long compounds and is the very soul of literary composition.

Satī and Yaugikī appear like two technical Guṇas. These are not included in the list of definitions, where Ojas replaces them.[1] Thus the total number of the Śabda Guṇas is really six.

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[1] *Ibid.* 346/4–6 [2] *Ibid.* 346/1; [3] *Idid.* 346/2–3.

19. *Artha Guṇas* :—The Artha Guṇas are enumerated as six[2] in number–Mādhurya, Saṁvidhāna, Komalatva, Udāratā, Prauḍhī and Sāmayikatva, and are defined as under :—

(i) *Mādhurya*—It is maintenance of forbearance and calmness of appearance in the face of anger and malice.

(ii) *Saṁvidhāna*—It comprises an effort to gain a wished for object.

(iii) *Komalatā*—It is a special arrangement of words free from harshness and inelegance not giving rise to laxity.

(iv) *Udāratā*—It is that where the inner significance is easily comprehensible.

(v) *Prauḍhī*—It comprises mature logical reasoning, which helps the completion of the subject of discourse.

(vi) *Sāmayikatya*—It consists in the apprehension of that particular sense, where the convention is applied either by itself i. e. independently or otherwise (as for instance on the basis of something like a derivative meaning).

20. *Ubhaya Guṇas* :—The Ubhaya Guṇas are six,[3] Prasāda Saubhāgya, Yathāsāṅkhya, Praśastatā, Pāka and Rāga, and are defined as follows :—

(i) *Prasāda*—It consists in the use of words with meaning quite well-known.

(ii) *Saubhāgya*—It is an elevation consisting of the expression of some high merit.

(iii) *Yathāsāṅkhya*—It consists in subsequent mention of things in the order of things previously mentioned, i. e. respective statement, first for first, second for second and so on. This corresponds to the Yathāsāṅkhaya Alaṅkāra of the later writers.

(iv) *Praśastatā*—It consists in the description in appropriate terms of even horrible things in unharsh i. e. agreeable words and expressions.

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[1] *Ibid.* 346/10 [2] *Ibid.* 346/12. [3] *Ibid.* 346/18–19.

(v) *Pāka*—It means maturity implying the highest stage of perfection of a poetic composition. It has four varieties of which only two Mṛdvikā-pāka and Nārikela-pāka are mentioned and defined.

(vi) *Rāga*—It is a particular merit helping the attainment of beauty in a literary composition.

21. *Doṣas, classification* :—The literary blemishes are defined as creating distaste and horror in the minds of literary men and are seven-fold, being associated with *Vaktṛ*, *Vācaka* and *Vācya* singly and collectively.[1] The seven varieties of the Doṣas are as follows :—

(i) Doṣas associated with *Vaktṛ*, (ii) Doṣas associated with *Vaktṛ* and *Vācaka*, (iii) Doṣas associated with *Vaktṛ*, *Vācaka* and *Vācya*, (iv) Doṣas associated with *Vācaka*, (v) Doṣas associated with *Vācaka* and *Vācya*, (vi) Doṣas associated with *Vācya*, (vii) Doṣas associated with *Vaktṛ* and *Vācya*. The *Vaktā* being the poet is of four types—(i) Saṁdihāna (doubtful), (ii) Avinīta (immodest or obstinate), (iii) Sannajña (a man of little learning) and (iv) Jñātā (learned). Vācaka is defined as touching the sense with regard to the definition or cause.[2] It is subdivided into two, Pada and Vākya.[3] The blemishes of Pada are two-fold *viz.* Asādhutva and Aprayuktatva, which may be defined as follows :—

(i) *Asādhutva*—It consists in the use of a word which is opposed to *Śabdśāstra*.

(ii) *Aprayuktatva*—It indicates the use of words not employed by the learned.

There are five blemishes pertaining to Vākya *viz.*

(i) *Chāndasatva*—It is a mertical blemish not to be found in prose composition.

(ii) *Avispaṣṭatvam*—It is something not quite clear and explicit. It is subdivided into three *viz.* Gūḍhārthatā, where the sense is got with greatest difficulty, Viparyastārthatā consists in the use of a term which rightly conveys a sense other than

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[1] *Ibid.* 347/1. [2] *Ibid.* 347/3; [3] *Ibid.* 347/4-12.

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the intended one, Saṁśayārthatvam consists in using a word of ambiguous import.

(iii) Kaṣṭatvam is that where the words cannot be pronounced with ease.

(iv) Asāmyikatvam—It consists of *Samayacyuti* i. e. non-observence of literary conventions.

(v) Grāmyatvam—It signifies the use of an obscene or inelegant term or expression. It is subdivided into three classes according as it is called by a term specifically denotaing a vulgar thing, or by a term which by association gives rise to a vulgar idea.

22. The blemishes restricted to the misuse of words[1] are again grouped under two heads, such as Prātisvika (specific) and Sādhāraṇa (general). The latter denotes a blemish covering the entire range of words used in a particular stanza or division of work and is divided into five sub-classes such as Kriyā-bhraṁśa, Kāraka-bhraṁśa, Visandhi, Punarukta and Vyasta-sambaddhatā, which may be explained as under :—

Kriyābhraṁśa is that where the verb is omitted; Kārakabhraṁśa, where the rules of case–inflexion are infringed or are but partially observed; Visandhi, where the compounding is defective; it is subdivided into two according as the compounding of the words is defective or is entirely dispensed with and the sense becomes hard and obscure or contrary and hard. Punarukta or tautology consists in dealing afresh with a thing already finished and discussed; it is subdivided into two according as it is restricted to a repetition of sound and sense. The Arthavṛtti in its turn is usually subdivided into two, according as the repetition or recurrence of the sense is brought about by means of a separate word or a word importing an innate redūplication of the original sense. Vyastasambaddhatā is that where a proper relation cannot be established between the attributes predicative of subjects, complimentary to each other, and is divided into three classes. Similarily, other blemishes are enumerated such as Viruddhatvam (contradiction), anachronism, defective unity of time and place etc.

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[1] *Ibid.* 347/13–23.

23. *Doṣas turning into Guṇas* :—After giving a brief survey of the literary blemishes, their varieties and sub-varieties, the author of the Alaṅkāra portion in the *Angi-purāṇa* explains[1] how even the blemishes in a particular context would turn to be literary merits, and in this connection a few instances are also given. The blemishes, which are ordinarily detrimental to the merit of Kāvya, may prove to be positive merits under peculiar circumstances, and hence the eleven classes of Nirarthatā are not to be discarded as demerits in the Duṣkara style. Similarly the blemish of the hidden meaning (Gūḍhārthatā), is a mark of excellence in the composition marked by the sentiment of Raudra. Likewise Grāmyatvam (inelegance) cannot be a blemish while occurring in a speach of a vulgar or illitrate person, or when a word of vulgar origin imports a meaning which is recognised by the general convention of the erudite and the *Śāstras*. A faulty combination of words is not be censured in a case where a difficulty of construction or interpretation is intended by the author. Similarly a Kriyā-bhraṁśa is not a defect, where a complete action is otherwise denoted by means of *Adhyāhāra*. In an alliterated stanza, a repetition of terms or a defect otherwise placed under the category of Vyasta-sambaddhatā adds to the merit of the composition. Where no difficulty is experienced in deducing the characteristic coincidence of the name, number and case, Upamāna may be likened to a host of Upameyas without any prejudice whatever.

24. Lastly, the author explains in brief the poetic conventions (*Kavisamaya*),[2] which are defined as the usage or practice of the poets. They are divided into two, Sāmānya and Viśiṣṭa.[3]

25a. *Rīti* :—Rīti or literary diction is described as playing an important role in the proper grasp of the art of speech. It is fourfold *viz.* (i) Pāñcālī, (ii) Gauḍadeśīyā, (iii) Vaidarbhī and

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1. *Ibid.* 347/24-30. 2. *Ibid.* 347/30-40; 3. *Ibid.* 340/1-4;

(iv) Lāṭajā.[1] Pāñcālī is that where the sentences are usually short and the language used being soft and mataphorical. Gauḍadeśīyā is that which is characterised by long compounds, the sentences being long and loosely knit together, and marked by an incompleteness in the statement expressed. Vaidarbhī is marked by a little use or an absolute absence of metaphors, the language used being not excessively soft and the sentences run on smoothly without any sort of restraint whatever. Lāṭajā is marked by terms explicit and unequivocal in their import while the sentences are not very long and possessing too many literary embllishments.[2]

25. *Vṛttis of drama* :—*The Purāṇa*[3] mentions four Vṛttis of drama also, which vary according to the action of the drama. They are Bhāratī, Ārbhaṭī, Kaiśikī and Sātvatī. But only the first two are defined. Bhāratī was first invented by Bharata and is characterised by a marked predominence of a number of male characters in the story. The female characters speak Prākrit. Ārbhaṭī abounds in the scenes of spells, battles, illusion etc. About the subdivisions of Bhārātī-vṛtti, some confusion seems to have been created, because some varieties of Rūpaka and Uprūpaka (Vīthi, Prahasana, Nāṭaka, Nāṭikā etc.) are included therein.

26. *Rasa, its origin* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* traces the origin of Rasa (literary sentiments) to *Brahma*, the Ultimate Reality. *Ahaṅkāra* is its first transformation from which proceeds *Abhimāna*, which overflows the three worlds. From Abhimāna, Rati comes into being, which after attaining maturity is called Śṛṅgāra.[4] And there are several varieties of Śṛṅgāra like Hāsya etc. These Rasas are also directly traced to the Guṇas like Sattva etc. Śṛṅgāra proceeds from *Rāga* (perhaps, representing Rajas), Rudra from *Taikṣṇya* (perhaps, representing Tamas) and Vīra from *Avaṣṭambha* (perhaps representing Sattva), and Bībhatsa is produced from *Saṁkoca*

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[1] *Ibid.* 340/1;

[2] *Ibid.* 346/3-4;

[3] Chap. 840/5-10.

[4] *Agn.* 331/1-5;

(contraction or compression). The Hāsya is produced from Śṛṅgāra, Karuṇa from Raudra, Adbhuta from Vīra, and Bhayānaka from Bībhatsa. A list of nine Rasas is also given, which are Śṛṅgāra, Hāsya, Karuṇa, Raudra, Vīra, Bhayānaka, Bībhatsa, Adbhuta and Śānta.[1]

27. *Importance of Rasa* :—These Rasas are regarded as very important with regard to Vāṇī (speech), which devoid of Rasa does not shine like Lakṣmī (goddess of wealth) without renunciation *(Tyāga)*. This world of Kāvya is endless, wherein the poet alone is the creator; he moulds this world according to his own pleasure.[2] If the poet is fond of Śṛṅgāra Rasa, his poetic world gets inundated with erotic sentiment, but if he happens to be a man of renunciation, the same spirit bereft of all sentiments pervades his work. There can be no Rasa (sentiment) without a Bhāva (emotion), which may be regarded as its substratum. Various divisions and subdivisions of Bhāvas are also given.[3]

28. *Bhāvas* :—The Bhāvas may be classified as Sthāyībhāvas (permanent emotions), Vyabhicārī Bhāvas (transient emotions), and Vibhāvas (accessories of a particular sentiment). Eight Sthāyibhāvas are mentioned, which are Rati, (love), Hāsa (laughter), Śoka (grief), Krodha (anger), Utsāha. (energy); Bhaya (fear), Jugupsā (repulsion) and Vismaya (wonder). The eight Vyabhicārībhāvas or mental states are described as emanating from three elemental properties *viz.* Sattva, Tamas and Rajas. The eight Vyabhicārībhāvas are as follows :—

(i) *Stambha*—It is a paralysed state of mind brought about by excessive fear or love in which all mental efforts are suspended or brought to a stand-still.

(ii) *Sveda*—It is parspiration of the body usually attributed to such physical or mental condition as fatigue, overpowering love etc., in which the inner self is greatly agitated.

(iii) *Pulaka*—Horripilation is caused by excessive joy etc.,

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1. *Ibid.* 339/5 9; 2. *Ibid.* 339/9-10; 3. *Ibid.* 331/12-20. ff.

and is usually accompanied by heavy breathing (ucchvāsa), etc.,

(iv) Broken speech (*Vāksaṅga*)—It is attributed to a sense of sudden or excessive joy, while hoarse voice (Svara-bheda) is attributed to fear.

(v) *Śarīrotkampa*—It is a general tremour of the body.

(vi) *Viṣāda*—grief.

(vii) *Aśru*—Tears are the signs of joy or sorrow. Swoon, stupor or a sudden collapse of the senses are the natural effects of an assault or an affront.

(viii) *Nirveda (Despair)*—It is a sense of physical langour or lassitude and is the outcome of some deep-seated menta agony.

29. Beside these, other transient emotions are also mentioned e.g. suspense (Utprekṣā), envy (Matsara), conceit or drunkeness (Mada), fatigue (Śrama), laziness (Ālasya), misery (Dainya), infatuation (Moha), remembrance (Smṛti), contemplation (Mati), coyness (Vrīḍā), fickleness (Capalatā), joy (Harṣa), mental commotion (Vega), sleepiness (Śaya), stupidity (Jaḍatā), mental composure (Dhṛti), pride (Garva), eagerness (Autsukya), swoon (Apasmāra), fear (Bhaya), pervasion (Vīpsā), wakefulness (Prabodha), malice (Āmarṣa), Āvahityam, Ugratā, Uha, Pralāpa, Śama, etc,

30. The causes which give rise to Rasa are called the Vibhāvas, which are subdivided into two, Ālambana (prop or support) and Uddīpana (the excitant). The male characters in a drama are the natural abodes of these Vibhāvas.[1]

A CRITICAL ESTIMATE

(1)

31. *Summing up of current theories and views :*—The presence of Alaṅkāra portion in the *Agni-purāṇa* is due to the fact that the *Purāṇa* professes to give the quintessence (*Sārātsāram*) of all knowledge, and as such inclusion of Alaṅkāra portion

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[1] *Ibid.* 339/35–37 ff.

befits its encyclopædic nature. In this section, the author of the *Purāṇa* sums up the important theories and views, current during his days, about the various topics pertaining to Alaṅkāra-śāstra. Hence, the author adopts the various topics from the then current literature bearing on the subject, at times even borrowing a few important definitions *verbatim,* now traced in some of the extant works. The system of Alaṅkāra-śāstra so presented in the *Purāṇa* preserves the views of the theorists like Bharata, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Rudraṭa, Dhvanikāra, Bhoja etc.

32. *Topics of Alaṅkāraśāstra* :—In nearly eight chapters, the *Agni-purāṇa* tries to present the various topics bearing on the Alaṅkāraśāstra, which may be enumerated in the order of their occurrence-(i) the characteristices of Kāvya etc., (ii) Rasa (sentiment), (iii) Rīti (literary diction), (iv) Śabdalaṅkāras (literary embellishments of words), (v) Arthālaṅkāras (literary embellishments of sense); (vi) Śabdārthayoralaṅkārāḥ (literary embellishments of both word and sense), (vii) Guṇas (literary merits) and (viii) Doṣas (literary blemishes). All these topics are discussed by the earlier writers like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Rudraṭa etc. Even the later writers like Mammaṭa and others had to embody all these topics in their treatises. A comparative study of the contents af Daṇḍin's *Kavyādarśa* and those of the Alaṅkāra portion in the *Agni-purāṇa* reveals close similarity between the two.[1] To estimate the place of the *Agni-purāṇa* section of Alaṅkāraśāstra in the general development of the Alaṅkāra system as such, it is imperative to take a critical survey of the various topics discussed therein.

(2)

33. *Alaṅkāras, Definition, Classification* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* gives an eleborate description of the Alaṅkāras as is the case with Bharata, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa etc., The

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[1] Vide *Anukramaṇikā* to the *Kd.* where the various topics are given in this order, (i) Kāvyalakṣaṇam, Kāvyabhedāḥ, (ii) *Vaidarbha Gandīya Mārgam,* (iii) *Alaṅkāra-lakṣaṇam,* (iv) *Doṣāḥ.*

Alaṅkāras are defined as attributes lending elegance to Kāvya,[1] and this definition agrees *verbatim* with that given in the *Kāvyādarśa*.[2] The *Purāṇa* divides the Alaṅkāras into three classes,[3] Alaṅkāras pertaining to Śabda, those pertaining to Artha and those pertaining to both Śabda and Artha. In this respect, the *Purāṇa* is the first work to introduce a third category of the Alaṅkāras. Bharata, Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa etc. do not make any clear distinction between the Śabdālaṅkāras and the Arthālaṅkāras, though such a distinction is implied in their treatment of the Alaṅkāras. The system of classifying the Alaṅkāras into those of Śabda and Artha obtains throughout from Rudraṭa's time. And as already noted the credit of adding a third category goes to the *Agni-purāṇa*. It is very likely that it may have borrowed this from some other authority now lost. Unlike most of the writers on the subject, the account of the Alaṅkāra begins with the Śabdālaṅkāras, an elaborate description of which is given. This account of the Śabdālaṅkāras agrees in many respects with that in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa*.

Śbdālaṅkāra :—The *Agni-purāṇa* discusses the Śabdālaṅkāras in much greater details than what is found in other works. In all, nine Śabdālaṅkāras are mentioned *viz.* Chāyā, Mudrā, Ukti, Yukti, Gumphanā. Vākovākyam, Anuprāsa, Citram and Duṣkaram, and the sub-divisions of each of them are mentioned in details. Of these nine Śabdālaṅkāras, first six–Chāyā, Mudrā, Ukti, Yukti, Gumphanā and Vākovākyam, cannot be called genuine Alaṅkāras, as they are merely different modes of expressions based on logical and psychological accuracy. Of these, Chāyā and Mudrā may easily come under the purview of psychology, and Ukti, Yukti, Gumphanā and Vākovākya under that of logic. Anuprāsa, Citra and Duṣkara alone belong to the category of genuine Alaṅkāras. That is why, they are admitted as Alaṅkāras in the extant works,[1] and the first six are omitted. That the *Agni-purāṇa* includes them under the Śabdālaṅkāras clearly shows that in this respect the *Purāṇa* follows some other Alaṅkāra tradition which was in vogue when the Alaṅkāras as such were not systematised. Hence, the scheme of the Śabdālaṅkāras together with their varieties and the sub-varieties is borrowed by the *Purāṇa* from an earlier treatise on Alaṅkāraśāstra, which is now lost.

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[1] *Agn.* 342/17; [2] *Kd.* II, I; [3] *Agn.* 342/18 ff.

34. The detailed treatment of some of the Śabdālaṅkāras and their sub-varieties shows distinct points of similarity with that in the works of other writers, especially Bharata and Daṇḍin. The treatment of Yamaka with its varieties agrees mostly with that in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*[2] and *Kāvyādarśa*.[3] The *Purāṇa* treats Yamaka as a variety of Anuprāṣa, where repetition of many letters is essential as also similarity of sound and diversity of meaning. The extant works describe both Anuprāsa and Yamaka as independent Śabdālaṅkāras. But the definition and explanation of Yamaka in the *Purāṇa* tallies, more or less, exactly with that in the *Kavyādarśa*. *Agni-purāṇa*, while defining and explaining the Yamaka Alaṅkāra, says[4] "the figure of speech in which a large number of letters is repeated so as to produce a similarity of sound but diversity of meaning is called Yamakam, which is divided into two classes as Avyapetam and Vyapetam. The former occurs where the letters repeated follow one-another in close succession, and the latter is the case when they are placed at a distance. Out of the combination of these two varieties of Yamakam four others have come into being according to the occurrence of the alliterated words in the different places and quarters of the composition. These in their turn may again give rise to a large concourse of Yamaka." The *Kāvyādarśa*,[5] while explain-

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[1] *Vide* relevent portions from the works of Bharata, Daṇḍin, Mammaṭa, Viśvanātha etc. *Nāṭ*. XVII, 63–86 *Kd*. III, 1–76, 78–95; *Kāṣā* I, 1–10; *Kp* I, *Sā*. D. X. 1–17.

[2] XVII, 63–80;

[3] III 1–76;

[4] 343/10–12 ff.

[5] III, 1–3 ff.;

ing Yamaka says, "the repetition of syllabic groups which are without other intervening syallables is Yamaka and it occurs at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the metrical feet. Yamakas occurring in one, in two, in three and in all the four metrical feet can be further distributed according as they occur at the beginning, in the middle, at the end, in both the middle and the end, the middle and the beginning, the end, and in all those places simultaneously. Extremely many are the divisions of them arising from comixture, some easy to compose, others difficult."

35. As for the sub-divisions of Yamaka also, so much agreement is found between those occurring in the *Agni Purāṇa* and those in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Kāvyādarśa.* The *Agni-purāṇa* says that innumerable divisions and subdivisions of Yamaka are possible but ten are the most important. In this account of the sub-divisions, a good deal of confusion has crept into the *Purāṇa*, the same scheme of varieties of Yamaka being repeated in a slightly different form and phraseology. This may, perhaps, be due to the negligence of the editors. Though the *Purāṇa* regards ten varieties of Yamaka as most important as is the case with the *Nāṭyaśāstra,* it actually gives only eight, two are left out. The eight varieties[1] are Pādānta, Kāñcīya, Saṁsarga, Vikrānta, Pādādi, Āmreḍita, Caturvyasitam and Mālā. The *Nāṭyaśāstra*[2] mentions ten varieties of Yamaka used in drama *viz.* Pādānta, Kāñcīyaka, Samudga, Vikrānta, Cakravata, Saṁdaṣṭa, Pādādi, Āmreḍita, Caturvyavasita and Mālā. Of these Pādānta, Kāñcīyaka, Āmreḍita, Caturvyavasita and Mālā are common to both the *Agni-purāṇa* and the *Nāṭya-śāstra.* Out of these ten, Daṇḍin[3] gives merely five-Pādādi, Sandiṣṭa, Samudga, Mahāyamaka and Pratiloma. The first three Pādādi, Sandiṣṭa and Samudga occur also in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* but excepting Pādādi, they do not occur in the *Agni-purāṇa.* But as the *Purāṇa* merely names them and does not give their definitions and illustrations, it is not possible to come to any

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[1] *Agn.* 343/15–17; [2] XVII, 63–66.

[3] *Kā.* III, 37, 51, 53, 70, 73.

conclusion in this regard. The Mahāyamaka of Daṇḍin[1], where all the four feet of a verse are identical and within the foot there is even repetition, may be equated with the Caturvyavasitam of Bharata[2], also occurrring in the *Agni-purāṇa,* where all the feet with fixed letters are similar. But Daṇḍin's Mahāyamaka and Bharata's Caturvyavasitam, though seemingly quite similar, are not quite identical, because in the former there is repetition even within the foot, whereas in the latter there is no such repetition, merely the four Pādas of fixed letters are quite similar. Thus Daṇḍin's Mahāyamaka seems to be a definite improvement, though slight, on Bharata's Caturvyavasitam. Pratiloma Yamaka of Daṇḍin in the *Kāvyādarśa* is not to be found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Thus, the points of similarity with regard to the treatment of Yamaka in the *Agni-purāṇa* on the one hand and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as also the *Kāvyādarśa* on the other, clearly show that the *Agni-purāṇa* has tried to sum up the views of both Bharata and Daṇḍin.

36. *Varieties of Anuprāsa* :—The *Agni-purāṇa,* while explaining Anuprāsālaṅkāra, gives five varieties *viz.* Madhurā, Lalitā, Prauḍhā, Bhadrā and Paruṣā. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Kāvyādarśa* do not include Anuprāsa in their list of the Śabdālaṅkāras. Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* takes note of two varieties of Anuprāsa, Chekānuprāsa and Lāṭānuprāsa. Udbhaṭa in addition to these two gives three more based on Paruṣā, Upanāgarikā and Grāmyā Vṛtti. Mammaṭa refers to the two varieties of Anuprāsa, Cheka and Vṛtti. The Vṛttis are threefold, Paruṣā, Komalā and Grāmyā. He also refers to other writers naming these Vṛttis as Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī and Pāñcālī. The Lāṭānuprāsa is also mentioned. In all, Mammaṭa mentions five varieties of Anuprāsa. The five varieties of Anuprāsa in the *Agni-purāṇa* are unique, as they are not to be found in any of the extant works. But nearest approach to them is made by Udbhaṭa and Mammaṭa, under whose Paruṣā, Upanāgrikā, Komalā and Grāmyā varieties, it may be passible to

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[1] *Ibid.* III 70, 71; [2] *Nāṭ.* XVII 81, 82.

include the varieties like Bhadrā, Lalitā, Madhurā and Paruṣā of the *Agni-purāṇa*.

37. *Citram* :—With regard to Citram variety of Śābdālaṅkāra, the *Agni-purāṇa* gives seven subvarieties *viz.* Praśna, Prahelikā, Gupta, Cyuta, Datta, Cyutadatta and Samasyā. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not take note of this variety as it was, perhaps, foreign to the purpose of drama. The *Kāvyādarśa* also does not mention it, but it discusses in details one of its sub-varieties called Prahelikā. The *Kāvyādarśa* gives sixteen varieties of Prahelikā[1] *viz.* Samagatā, Vañcitā, Vyutkrāntā, Pramuṣitā, Samānarūpā, Paruṣā, Samākhyātā, Prakalpitā, Nāmāntarsitā, Nibhṛtā, Samānaśabdā, Sammūḍhā, Parihārikā, Ekachannā, Ubhayachannā and Saṁkīraṇā. Daṇḍin associates the sixteen sub-varieties of Prahelikā[2] with earlier authorities. The *Kāvyādarśa* mentions fourteen Duṣṭa Prahelikās[3] (defective riddles), which are not mentioned in the *Agni-purāṇa* The later writers on Alaṅkāraśastra also do not give all the datails about the Citra variety of the Śabdālaṅkāras, as is the case with the *Agni-purāṇa*.

38. *Change in the significance of Citra, a variety of Kāvya :* With the progress of time and the introduction of various new elements in the scheme of poetics, the real significance of the Citra Śabdālṅkāra came to be forgotten and a new and more comprehensive significance came to be attached to ita The name Citra came to be associated with a class of Kāvy. itself, wherein the Alaṅkāras were in predominance and there was complete absence of suggestiveness (Dhvani). Such a Kāvya came to be known as Citra Kāvya and was divided into two classes *viz.* Śabda or Vācya Citra and Artha Citra. This change in the significance of Citra is to be found even in the *Dhvanyāloka*, which clearly refers to Citra Kāvya and its two classes.[4] It explains Citra as a variety of Kāvya as different from the two classes where suggestiveness is either predominant or subservient, and it is two-fold, Śabda Citra

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[1] *Kd.* III,97/106;

[2] *Kd.* III, 106;

[3] *Ibid.* III 106.

[4] *Dhv.* III, 42-43;

and Artha Citra. This scheme of the three divisions of Kāvya was uniformly adopted by the theorists, who subscribed to the Dhvani theory. Mammaṭa also adopted the same classification in his *Kāvya Prakāśa*.[1] He classifies Kāvya as Uttama or Dhvani, Madhyama or Guṇībhūtavyaṅga and Avara (Adhama) or Citra—Śabda and Vākya. But strict adherents of the Dhvani theory like Viśvanātha and others were not prepared to admit Citra as the third variety of Kāvya. Viśvanātha[2] criticises the definition of Citra Kāvya and says that without suggestiveness there can be no Kāvya. But some vestiges of the original scheme of the Citra Śabdālaṅkāra still remained, which are referred to by the later writers including Mammṭa and Viśvanātha, who mention Citra as one of the Śabdālaṅkāras as well. But even then, it is not the original Citra as described in the *Agni-purāṇa* with its seven varieties. It is confounded with the varieties of Duṣkara as given in the the *Agni Purāṇa*. Mammaṭa[3] defines Citra as, "where the letters assume the form of such objects as the sword and the like, it is the figure pictorial. (*Comm*) In cases where the letters arranged in particular ways appear in the form of (a) the sword, (b) or the drum, (c) or the lotus and so forth, we have pictorial poetry (i. e. poetry with pictorial figures)." Viśvanātha[4] also gives the same definition of Citra. Thus, the later writers take the word Citra in the sense of a picture. Hence sword, drum, lotus etc. came to be associated with it. But it is not so in the *Agni-purāṇa*, where Citra as a variety of Śabdālaṅkāra is defined as a composition exciting curiosity in the assemblage of the learned.[5] Hence, here the word Citra is not used in the sense of a picture, but in the sense of curiosity (*Kutūhala*). The Citra of Mammaṭa and Viśvanātha would come under the Duṣkara variety of the Śabhālaṅkāras, according to the *Agni-purāṇa* and the *Kāvyādarśa*, as will be noted presently. Viśvanātha mentions Prahelikā, which is a sub-variety of Citra according to the *Agni-purāṇa,* and states that, being averse to sentiment (Rasa), it cannot be an Alaṅkāra. It is merely a striking expression. He classifies it as Cyutākṣarā, Dattākṣarā, and Cyutadattākṣarā.[1] According to the *Agni-purāṇa* these three, like Prahelikā, are independent varieties of Citra Śabdālaṅkāra.

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[1] I, 4–5;

[2] *Sā. D.* III, p. 238.

[3] *Kp.* IX 85, *Kp. T.* pp. 294–295.

[4] *Sa. D.* X, 10;

[5] *Agn.* 343/22.

39. *Duṣkara :*—The *Agni-purāṇa* gives three varieties of Duṣkara *viz.* Niyama, Vidarbha, and Bandha. It also gives eight sub-varieties of Bandha Duskara *viz*–Gomūtrikā, Ardhabhramaṇam, Sarvatobhadram, Ambujam, Daṇḍa, Muraja, Cakram, and Cakrācakram. The *Kāvyādarśa*[2] also mentions it along with some of its varieties with apt illustrations, *viz.* Gomūtrikā, Ardhabhrama and Sarvatobhadra. And the author does not claim to have exhausted the account. He modestly says that he has just given a small portion of the great path of Duṣkara.[3] The *Kāvyaprakāśa*[4] does not make any mention of Duṣkara but gives four of its varieties, which are noticed in the *Agni-purāṇa* as the varieties of the Śabdālaṅkāra Citra. This confusion between Citra and Duṣkara has already been explained. The varieties of Citra, which should have been associated with Duṣkara, as mentioned in the *Kāvya-prakāśa* are the sword, drum, lotus and all round sqnare (*Cakram*). Visvanāthā[5] includes these varieties of Duṣkara under Citram and makes no mention whatsoever of Duṣkara. Citra is described as a pictorial arrangement of words in the form of Padma, Khaḍga, Muraja, Cakra, Gomūtrikā etc. Thus, it is clear that the later theorists did not attach any importance to these varieties and sub-varieties of Śabdalaṅkāras. They merely make a passing reference to, perhaps, most popular or common of them, as a concession to the popular taste. Thus the *Agni-purāṇa* describes the Śabdālaṅkāras in much greater details than any of the extant writers on Alaṅkāraśāstra.

40. *Arthālaṅkāras, Bhāmaha's grouping :*—The Arthālaṅ-

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[1] *Sa. D.* X, 17, p, 517; [2] III, 78–96. [3] *Kd.* III. 96;
[4] Kp. IX. 85; [5] *Sa. D.* X, 16, pp. 514, 515;

kāras occupy a place of prominence in the *Agni-purāṇa* according to which without them the goddess of speech looks like a widow. The Purāṇa, unlike other Alaṅkāra theorists with the exception of Rudraṭa, gives a retionalistic classification of the Arthālaṅkāras. Generally, the theorists describe the Arthālaṅkāras in a bulk without any grouping. Bhāmaha attempted a sort of grouping[1] for the Alaṅkāras in general according to the stages of their development. His grouping may be summed up as under :—

(i) Anuprāsa, Yamaka, Rūpaka and Dīpaka.

(ii) Ākṣepa, Arthāntaranyāsa, Vyatireka Vibhāvanā, Samāsokti and Atiśayokti.

(iii) Yathāsāṅkhya, Utprekṣā and possibly Svabhāvokti.

As for Rudraṭa's classification[2], the Arthālaṅkāras are based on four principles *viz.* (i) Vāstava (reality), (ii) Aupamya (comparison), (iii) Atiśaya (exaggeration or elevatedness) and (iv) Śleṣā (Coalescence). On the basis of these principles, the Arthālaṅkāras are classified as under :—

(i) *Vāstava*—Sahokti, Samuccaya, Jāti, Yathāsāṅkhya, Bhāva, Paryāya, Viṣama, Anumāna, Dīpaka, Parikara, Parivṛtti, Parisaṅkhyā, Hetu, Kāraṇamālā, Vyatireka, Anyonya, Vṛtta, Sāra, Sūkṣma, Leśa, Avasara, Mīlita and Ekāvalī.

(ii) *Aupamya*—Upamā, Utprekṣā, Rūpaka, Apahnuti, Saṁśaya, Samāsokti, Mālā, Uttara, Anyokti, Pratīpa, Arthāntaranyāsa, Ubhayanyāsa, Bhrāntimat, Ākṣepa, Pratyanīka, Dṛṣṭānta, Pūrva, Sahokti, Samuccaya, Sāmya and Smaraṇa.

(iii) *Atiśaya*—Pūrva, Viśeṣa, Utprekṣā, Vibhāvanā, Tadguṇa, Adhika, Virodha, Viṣama, Asaṅgati, Pihita.

(iv) Śleṣa—Śabda, Saṅkīrṇa.

41. *Other theorists* :—All the other theorists have merely given a long list of the Arthālṅkāras, all as independent entities. Bharata mentions only four Arthālaṅkāras but with the subsequent theorists the number went on increasing.[3] Thus, it

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[1] *Kā.* Chap. II. [2] *Kl.* Chap. VII; *His. S,* I, 537-538.

[3] Bhāmaha-33, Dandin-35, Udbhaṭa-37, Vāmana-30, Rudraṭa-66, Bhoja-24, Mammaṭa-62, Viśvanātha-70.

is evident that the Arthālaṅkāras were more popular with the later theorists and they began to develop them, though there were other important theories to claim their attention. The reason for this is not far to seek. The Arthālaṅkāras were of a direct use and utilily in giving expression to their ideas in an elegant manner. But as already noticed, the Śabdālaṅkāras were not at all popular with them and therefore, the Śabdālaṅkāras, with a few exceptions, died a natural death.

42. *Agni-purāṇa, twelve Arthālaṅkāras* :—In the *Agni-purāṇa,* on the other hand, only twelve Arthālaṅkāras are mentioned, the lowest number given by any theorists with the exception of Bharata. The twelve Alaṅkāras are–Svarūpa, Upamā, Rūpaka, Sahokti, Arthāntaranyāsa, Utprekṣā, Atiśaya, Viśeṣa, Vibhāvanā, Virodha, Hetu and Sama. These Alaṅkāras are grouped into eight classes, which may be regarded as their basic elements. The multiplicity of the Arthālaṅkāras may, perhaps, have developed from these basic principles. According to the *Agni-purāṇa,* the eight groups represent the original Arthālaṅkāras. The eight groups are as follows :—

(i) *Svarūpa* (natural state or condition)—It may be equated with Svabhāvokti of other theorists.

(ii) *Sādṛśya* (similitude)—The Alaṅkāras based on it are Upamā, Rāpaka, Sahokti and Arthāntaranyāsa.

(iii) *Utprekṣā.*

(iv) *Atiśaya.*

(v) *Vibhāvanā*—Viśeṣa is also added to it.

(vi) *Virodha.*

(vii) *Hetu.*

(viii) *Sama.*

This grouping seems to be more historical than rational. The eight Arthālaṅkāras may, perhaps, have been the only Alaṅkāras worth being taken note of. This classification agrees partially with Rndraṭa's rationalistic classification of the Alaṅkāras into four groups. Svarūpa, Sādṛśya and Atiśayokti of the *Agni-purāṇa* agree respectively with Vāstava, Aupamya and Atiśaya of Rudraṭa. The remaining five–Utprekṣā, Vibhāvanā, Virodha, Hetu and Sama may easily be got under one of the first three, as Rudraṭa has attempted. The general tendency in the case of the Arthālaṅkāras was towards multiplication of their number and not rationalisation.

43. *Upamā* :—After giving the eight varieties, the *Agni-purāṇa* goes on to explain each one and gives certain subvarieties in cases where it is possible. It is only in the case of Upamā that a detailed account of so many subvarieties is given. In the treatment of Upamā and its subvarieties, one may essily notice points of similarity with Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa. The *Agni-purāṇa*[1] defines Upamā as where Upamāna and Upameya retain their individual entity, though there is internal similarity. Here the fact that Upamāna and Upameya are separate entities is stressed, as also the similarity between the two. In the case of later theorists like Udbhaṭa, Mammaṭa and others, stress is laid on similarity and not on separateness[2].

44. *Snb-divisions of Upamā* :—After defining Upmā, the *Agni-purāṇa* explains its subdivisions from two points of view— (i) outer form and (ii) internal meaning. This scheme of sub–divisions of Upamā is also a peculiar feature of the *Agni-purāṇa*, not to be found in any other work. Daṇḍin gives merely the second category of the sub-divisions, whereas Udbhaṭa, Mammaṭa, Viśvanātha etc., give a scheme similar to the first, little taking note of the second. The first category is based on the exterior constituents of Upamā. Thus, in the *Agni-purāṇa*,[3] Upamā is first divided into two—(i) Sasamāsā, where the counterparts Upamāna, Upameya, Sādhāraṇa Dharma and *Upamā Pratipādakā Śabda* are present, and (ii) Asamāsā, where one or more of these are absent. Then it is subdivided into eighteen. Somewhat similar scheme of subdivisions is adopted by Udbhaṭa[4] and in this respect, he is the

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1. 344/5 ;

2. *Kā. Sā.* I, 15; *Kp.* X, I, *Sā. D.* ; X, 18, p. 518, *Kā*, II, 30;

3. 344/6–9;

4. *Kāvyālaṅkārasāra–saṅgraha*, I, 16–21;

first of the theorists to adopt this scheme. After him, the scheme is adopted uniformly by Mammaṭa,[1] Viśvanātha[2] etc.

45. The second category of subdivisions of Upamā in the *Agni-purāṇa* agrees very closely with the subdivisions given in the *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin. The subdivisions of Upamā, according to Daṇḍin,[3] and those belonging to the second category of the *Agni-purāṇa*[4] may be studied comparatively so that the close affinity between the two may be quite evident. Thus, the *Kāvyādarśa* gives in all thirty-two sub-divisions signifying particular point of similitude. These embody all the sixteen sub-divisions of the *Agni-purāṇa* with a slight variation in a few cases. Dharmopamā and Vastūpamā of the *Kāvyādarśa* become one Alaṅkāra as *Dharamvastūpamā,* and Viparyāsopamā, Anyonyopamā and Nirṇayopamā of the *Kāvyādarśa* are respectively Viparītopamā, Parasparopamā and Niścayopamā of the *Agni-purāṇa*. Thus, it seems the list containing sixteen sub-divisions of Upamā in the *Agni-purāṇa* is adopted in *toto* with a slight variation from Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*. It may be suggested that the *Agni-purāṇa* borrowed its list from Daṇḍin making it quite elaborate by his own additions.

46. *Other Arthālaṅkāras* :—With regard to other Arthālaṅkāras *viz.* Rūpaka, Sahokti, Arthāntaranyāsa, Utprekṣā, Atiśaya, Viśeṣa, Vibhāvanā, Virodha, Hetu etc., explained in the *Agni-purāṇa,* no discussion is required because the definitions adopted for them in the *Purāṇa* are practically the same as found in the extant works. It is noteworthy that the *Purāṇa* makes no mention whatsoever of the Alaṅkāras like Urjasvī, Rasavat etc., as mentioned by the writers like Daṇḍin etc.

47. *Śabdārthālaṅkāras, Saṅkara and Saṁsṛṣṭi* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* gives a third variety of literary embellishments called Śabdārthālaṅkāras. Perhaps, the *Purāṇa* is the earliest known work to mention the third division. Both earlier and the later

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[1] *Kāvyapaakāśa* X, 1–11;

[2] *Sāhitya-darpaṇa,* X, 18–34, pp. 518–533;

[3] *Kd.* III, 15–65;

[4] *Agn.* 344/9–21.

writers do not attach any importance to this division, and there seems to have been some confusion about it, and the writers like Mammaṭa, Udbhaṭa and others include it under Saṅkarālaṅkāra. Udbhaṭa[1] refers to *Śabaārthavartyalaṅkāra* as a variety of Saṅkara, and defines it—"when Alaṅkāras pertaining to words and those pertaining to sense appear (separately) in one sentence or (verse as the case may be), it becomes (a sort of) Saṅkara." The earlier writers do not refer to Saṅkara but they mention Saṁśṛṣṭi, which is the same as Saṅkara of Udbhaṭa. Perhaps, Udbhaṭa wanted a new nomenclature for comixture of several Alaṅkāras, hence called it Saṅkara. Daṇḍin's definition[2] of Saṁśṛṣṭi as comixture of various Alaṅkāras in two ways, (i) either on the basis of *Aṅgāṅgībhāva* (one principle and other subordinate), or (ii) *Samakakṣatā* (all the Alaṅkāras being on equal basis i. e. retaining their separate entity), clearly shows, how it is identical with the Saṅkara of Udbhaṭa. But the later writers like Mammaṭa,[3] Ruyyaka[4] and Viśvanātha[5] etc. adopt both Saṁśṛṣṭi and Saṅkara as two independent Alaṅkāras, the first in which various Alaṅkāras retain their individual and independent existence, the second where one is principle and others subservient to it.

48. *Conclusion* :—In view of the foregoing account, it will be evident that in the case of admixture of various Alaṅkāras, a new Alaṅkāra was invented, which was called Saṁśṛṣṭi first and later on Saṅkara by Udbhaṭa, and the later writers adopted both the names as indicating two varieties of mixure. Naturally, the Śabdārthālaṅkāra variety of the Alaṅkāras, when its original connotation as noticed in the *Agni-purāṇa* was forgotten, came to be regarded as one of the varieties of Saṅkara as already noticed. Here, it should be borne in mind that the conception of Śabdārthālaṅkāra in the *Agni-purāṇa* is altogether different from what is found in the works of the extant writers. Originally, the Śabdārthālaṅkāras were used

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[1] *Kā. Sā.*, V. 62. [2] *Kd.* II, 359–360; [3] *Kp.* X, 83–84, [4] *As.* pp. 192–197. [5] *Sā. D.* X, 126–128.

in the same sense in which the *Agni-purāṇa* uses them. But in course of time, as the Alaṅkāraśāstra progressed and the now elements came to be embodied in it, the original conception of Sabdārthālaṅkāra came to be forgotten and merely the name retained. Hence, Śabdārthālaṅkāra came to be regarded as a variety of Saṅkara as the name itself would suggest.

49. *Six subdivisions of Śabdārthālaṅkāras* :—After defining the Śabdārthālaṅkāras as embellishment of word and sense, the *Agni-purāṇa* goes on to give its six subdivisions. *viz.* Praśasti, Kānti, Aucitya, Saṅkṣepa, Yāvadarthatā and Abhivyakti. This list of the Śabdārthālaṅkāras is a unique feature of the *Agni-purāṇa,* not to be found in any of the extant works on Alaṅkāraśāstra. A close study of the six sub-divisions reveals that each one of them may be equated with the Guṇas of the earlier band of the Alaṅkāra writers like Bharata, Daṇḍin, Vāmana etc. Bharata[1] refers to the ten Guṇas. Out of them Kānti may agree with Kānti Alaṅkāra, Arthvyakti with Abhivyakti Alaṅkāra, Saukumārya or Udāratā with Praśasti Alaṅkāra, Samādhi with Saṅkṣepa Alaṅkāra, Oja with Aucitya Alaṅkāra and Prasāda, perhaps, with Yāvadarthatā Alaṅkāra. Daṇḍin[2] also gives the same list of the ten Guṇas as the essentials of Vaidarbhī style. Vāmana[3] gives the same list of the Guṇas pertaining to Śabda and Artha, and Kuntaka[4] adopts Aucitya as one of the Guṇas essential for Sukumāra and Vicitra Mārga. This analysis clearly shows that the Śabdārthālaṅkāras of the *Agni-purāṇa* are nothing but some Guṇas of the Alaṅkāra writers like Bharata, Daṇḍin, Vāman etc.

50. *Guṇās as Śabdārthālaṅkāras* :—The inclusion of the Guṇas in the category of Śabdārthālaṅkāras in the scheme of poetics as adopted in the *Agni-purāṇa* throws a flood of light on the development of the concept of the Guṇas. The Guṇas at the earlier stage of their development may have been regarded as mere embellishments and not at all connected with any of

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[1] *Nāṭ.* XVII, 96;

[2] *Kd.* I, 41;

[3] *Kā. Sū,* III, 4;

[4] *Vakro.* I 34; *CRG.* PP. 46-57.

the literary dictions. This is how the *Agni-purāṇa* tries to explain them.

51. *Earlier writers :*—For earlier writers like Bhāmaha etc., there was not much difference between the Guṇas and the Alaṅkāras, both serving the same purpose of embellishing and enhancing the beauty of the composition. They (the Guṇas and the Alaṅkāras) were not associated with literary diction (Rīti or Mārga). Bhāmaha's treatment of Guṇas proceeds in the context of the Alaṅkāras or poetic figures and this, perhaps, goes to imply that to Bhāmaha these two elements are contiguous to each other and coextensive. In other words, Guṇas are specific kinds of Alaṅkāras and consequently there is no criterion for distinguishing the one element from the other.[1] Though Daṇḍin, regarding the Guṇas as essentials of Vaidarbha Mārga, associates them with literary diction, still he regards them as mere Alaṅkāras, or rather Viśiṣṭa Alaṅkāras as distinguished from the Sādhāraṇa Alaṅkāras like Upamā, Rūpaka[2] etc. There is some truth in the remark of P. V. Kane,[3] when he says that "Daṇḍin's work makes no distinction between Guṇas and Alaṅkāras. Though Daṇḍin calls both Alaṅkāras and Guṇas as Alaṅkāras, still he maintains a technical dittinction between the two, as the Guṇas are regarded as the soul of Vaidarbhī Mārga". In the words of S. K. De[4], "he (Daṇḍin) practically foreshadows, if he does not theoritically develop, the rigid differentiation of the Guṇas and the Alaṅkāras of the Riti school". Vāmana defines the Guṇas as those that embellish Kāvya, and thus his definition of the Guṇas is exactly similar to Daṇḍin's definition of the Alaṅkāras.[5] The *Agni-purāṇa*[6] also explains the Guṇas as Alaṅ-

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 53;

[2] *Kd.* VI. 3.

[3] *Sā. D. In.* p. CL ii;

[4] *Sp.* Vol. II, p. 106;

[5] *Kā. Sū.* II' 1; *Kd.* II. 1; Like Daṇḍin Vāmana also associates *Guṇas* with *Rīti* as its soul, *Kā. Sū.* I, 1, 7–8. Thus Vāmana like Daṇḍin maintains the technical difference between the two.

[6] 346/3 ff;

kāras because it imparts lustre to its theme and enhances the beauty and sweetness of the description.[1]

52. *Conclusion :*—Thus the *Agni-purāṇa* along with the earlier writers like Daṇḍin, Vāmana etc. does not make clear distinction between the Alaṅkāras and the Guṇas both having the same function of embellishing the literary composition. The Śabdārthālaṅkāras mentioned in the *Agni-purāṇa* are clearly the Guṇas as such. Hence, it may be inferred that the *Purāṇa* preserves a tradition of an early period when the Guṇas and the Alaṅkāras were not distinguished as separate elements in Kāvya but were regarded as mere embellishments. As the Guṇas could embellish both Śabda and Artha at the same time, they came to be regarded as Śabhārthālaṅkāras, the third sub-division of the Alaṅkāras preserved in the *Agni-purāṇa.* This nomenclature of the Guṇas may have been quite in vogue before the idea of literary diction (Mārga or Rīti) came to be evolved and the Guṇas came to be regarded as the soul of Mārga. In Daṇḍin and Vāmana, as already noticed, both the tendencies—(i) Śabdārthālaṅkāra, and (ii) Soul of Mārga, are reflected, whereas in the *Agni-purāṇa* only the earlier tendency i. e. the Guṇas being regarded as Śabdārthālaṅkāras is discernible. When the Guṇas came to be regarded as essentials of literary diction and a definite and systematic theory came to be formulated about it at the hands

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[1] *CRG.* p. 44 : "It has been seen that Guṇa and Alaṅkāra, the technical poetic elements with which the earlier theorists were mainly concerned, have got the same origin as they arose out of a mechanical analysis of the word and the sense and consequently as the means of arriving at the formal beauty". The same author further remarks, "The fact remains that in the treatment of all the theorists from Bharata to Vāmana both these two elements Guṇa and Alaṅkāra have reference only to the arrangement of letters and words or to the formal ways of expressing a particular idea. Thus, when the fundamental characterstics of these two elements were not different, there was nothing to prevent certain Guṇas from beinng Alaṅkāras and *vice-versa.*"

of Vāmana, they (Guṇas) came to be dissociated with the nomenclature of *Śabdārthālaṅkāra.* But the nomenclature as such still lingered and the subsequent theorists like Udbhaṭa, Mammaṭa etc., as already noticed, considering its literal meaning, regarded it as one of the varieties of the Saṅkara[1] Alaṅkāra. Mammaṭa in the Chapter on the Guṇas tries to distinguish the Śabdārthālaṅkāras from the Guṇas. Thus, the Śabdārthālaṅkāras may have been a technical name for the Guṇas in the earlier stage of development of the *Alaṅkāra-śāstra,* which lost its significance later on, and that early stage is reflected in the *Agni-purāṇa.*

(3)

53. *Guṇas, Daṇḍin, Vāmana :*—The conception of the Guṇas, according to the *Agni-purāṇa,* is altogether different from that of the writers like Daṇḍin, Vāmana and others. To Daṇḍin, the ten Guṇas are the very soul of Vaidarbha[2] Mārga. Similarly, Vāmana regards them as the soul or the *Viśeṣa*[3] in the *Viśiṣṭapadaracanā* i. e. Rīti.[4] He associates the Guṇas with the soul of Kāvya, hence indirectly they become essential in poetry. Thus, Vāmana is more logical and systematic than Daṇḍin, in as much as he (Vāmana) establishes a close and intimate relationship between the two poetic elements Rīti and Guṇa, but like his predecessor, he classifies Rīti on the basis of the Guṇas,[5] the presence of some or all of which constituted a particular Rīti.

54. *Gnṇas and Dhvani Theory :*—With the rise of the Dhvani theory, the conceptian of the Guṇas was changed. The *Dhavanikāra* recognised only three Guṇas—Ojas, Prasāda and Mādhurya, instead of the ten Guṇas of Bharata, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, and even more of other waiters. The three Guṇas are classified on the basis of a particular mental condition involved in the preception of Rasa. Thus, they are associated with Rasa, which is ultimately regarded as the

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[1] *Kp.* VII, 6 and *Vṛtti.* [2] *Kd.* I, 42; [3] *Kā. sū.* I., 1, 8;
[4] *Ibid.* I, 1, 7; [5] C. R. G. p, 86;

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soul of Kāvya. The Guṇas are to the soul of Kāvya what *Śaurya* and other Guṇas are to the soul of man.[1]

Guṇas and Agni-purāṇa :—In the light of the above account of the Guṇas, if the theory of the Guṇas in the *Agni-purāṇa* is examined, it will be evident that though the *Purāṇa* does neither associate them with Mārga or Rīti like Daṇḍin or Vāmana, nor regard them as conducive to the development of Rasa like the Dhvanikāra Abhinavagupta, and Mammaṭa, still the way in which it explains them gives some vague hint about their nature in the manner of Dhvani theorists. The *Purāṇa*[2] says that Vākya, though embellished but without the Guṇas, would not be delightful like a charmless lady with necklace on. Here, it is hinted that the Alaṅkāras are like necklace and the Guṇas are like charm or *Lālitya,* which is ultimately due to the soul, though it pervades the whole of the body. Thus, a vague and indirect effort is made to grasp at something, like the soul of Kāvya, as was attempted by Vāmana, Kuntaka, and the later theorists. In the *Purāṇa*[3] the Guṇas are described as enhancing the beauty and sweentness of the description and imparting lustre to its theme.

55. *Classification of the Guṇas* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* classifies the Guṇas under two heads, Sāmānya and Viśeṣa. The Sāmānya Guṇas are common to several components of Kāvya, while the Vaiśeṣika to certain particular parts. The Sāmānya Guṇas are sub-divided into three, Śabda, Artha and Ubhaya. Bharata and Daṇḍin did not give any classification of the Guṇas. Vāmana was the first writer to classify them under two heads, (i) Śabda and (ii) Artha, thus doubling the number of the traditional Guṇas. But Bhoja[4] like the *Purāṇa* classifies the Guṇas into three classes–(i) Bāhya, (ii) Abhyantara, and (iii) Vaiśeṣika. The Bāhya Guṇas correspond with the Śabda Guṇas, and the Abhyantara, with the Artha; the third is not treated as the technical class of the Guṇas. The

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[1] *Kp.* VII, 66, *Kp.T.* p. 252; [2] 346/1.

[3] 346/2–3; [4] *Sars. Kan.* I, 60;

third category of Bhoja comprises the Doṣas under certain circumstances turning into the Guṇas, which are also referred to in the *Purāṇa*.[1]

56. *Seven Śabda Guṇas:*—The *Agni-purāṇa*[2] mentions seven Śabda Guṇas–Śleṣa, Lālitya, Gāmbhīrya, Saukumārya, Udāratā, Satī and Yaugikī. While giving the actual definitions of each one of them, the last two are left out and in their place Ojas is defined. Thus, in fact six Śabda Guṇas are explained. All these may be equated with the traditional Guṇas, as expounded by the various writers like Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Bhoja etc. Similarly, the six Artha Guṇas–Mādhurya, Saṁvidhāna, Komalatā, Udāratā, Prauḍhi and Sāmayikatā may, in general, be likened to some of the Artha Guṇas of the earlier writers. But the case with the six Ubhaya Guṇas[3]-Prasāda, Saubhāgya, Yathāsāṅkhya, Prāśastya, Pāka and Rāga of the *Purāna,* is altogether different. Out of these, Saubhāgya may be likened to Daṇḍin's Udārātā and is accepted as Guṇa by Kuntaka. Yathāsāṅkhya, regarded as Arthālaṅkāra by the later writers and also mentioned as Śabdārthālaṅkāra in the *Purāṇa*, and Prāśsatya, which is also mentioned as Śabdārthālaṅkāra and which corresponds to Vāmana's Arthaguṇa Saukumārya, and Prasāda are common to all the writers. The two, Pāka and Rāga, indicating the significance of æsthetic beauty and appreciation may have been regarded as technical terms in some unknown system of poetics.

(4)

57. *Doṣas, Bharata, Bhāmaha and other theorists :*—As for the literary blemishes, the scheme adopted in the *Agni-purāṇa* seems to be more archaic and derived from some unknown earlier work on Alaṅkāraśāstra. Though in fundamentals the scheme does not much differ from that adopted in the extant works, yet with regard to the details, there seems to exist much difference. According to the *Purāṇa,*[4] a blemish is that which creates horror and distaste in the minds of men of letters, and

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[1] 347/24-29;
[2] 346/5-6;
[3] *Agn.* 346/18-19;
[4] 347/1;

is seven-fold. Thus, the blemishes are defined positively and are a positive entity, as is the case with Bharata,[1] who regards the Doṣas as positive entity and the Guṇas as opposites of the Doṣas. The scheme of the Doṣas in the case of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin is the same. Daṇḍin[2] does not define the Doṣas but merely says that they mar the good effect of poetry, and a learned man should know them, and gives the ten Guṇas, which, though differing in name from those of Bharata, may be equated with them. On the other hand, Vāmana[3] defines them as opposite of the Guṇas. For him, the Doṣas are merely negative and the Guṇas positive. The Doṣas are mere negation of the Guṇas. Thus, he reverses the position, exponent as he was of the Rīti theory, according to which the Guṇas were regarded as most essential. With the advent of the Dhvani and Rasa theories, the Doṣas also came to be associated with the new elements. But the negative aspect was still retained. Mammaṭa[4] defines the Doṣas as "Defect is the repressor of the principal meaning, the principal meaning being the passion as also the Expresssd meaning which is essential for the manifestation of the passion, both of these requiring the aid of word and the sense. Defects pertain to tho latter also," and he gives a list of sixteen Doṣas.[5] Viśvanātha's[6] Doṣas may mostly be equated with those of Mammaṭa. Thus, the conception of the Doṣas in the *Agni-purāṇa* is different from that in the extant works. For all other writers, excepting Vāmana, the Doṣas are generally negative, whereas in the *Agni-purāṇa* they are positive.

56. The Doṣas are first described as sevenfold being associated with *Vaktā*, *Vācaka* and *Vācya*, severally and collectively. The *Vaktṛ-Doṣas* are described as fourfold–Saṁdihāna, Avinīta, Sannjña, Jñāta; the Vācaka Doṣas are two-fold.

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[1] *Nāṭ.* XVIII, 88–95;
[2] *Kd.* III, 125–126.
[3] *Kā. Sū.* III. 2. 1.
[4] *Kp.* VII. 49, *Kp.* T. p. 140;
[5] *Kp.* VII. 50–51;
[6] Sa. D. VII, 1, 2;

Pada and Vākya. Then the Pada Doṣas are again described as two-fold, Asādhutva, Aprayuktatva; and the Vākya Doṣas five-fold-Chāndasatva, Avispaṣṭatva, Kaṣṭatva, Asāmayikatva and Grāmyatva. The Avispaṣṭatva Vākyadoṣa is sub-divided into three, Gūḍhārthatā, Viparyastārthatā and Saṁśyārthatva. Another set of two sub-divisions of Vācaka Doṣas is also given *viz.* (i) Prātiśvika, and (ii) Sādhāraṇa. The latter is again sub-divided into five, Kriyābhraṁśa, Kārakabhraṁśa, Visandhi, Punarukta and Vyastasambandhatā.[1]

57. *Classification of Doṣas :*—The scheme of the classification of the Doṣas adopted in the *Agni-purāṇa* is the most elaborate scheme available in the extant works on Alaṅkāra-śāstra. Hence, the scheme should be regarded as unique; it sheds a flood of light on the earlier phase of the development of Alaṅkāra-śāstra. The treatment is both scientific and psychological. In the earlier stages of the development of art, excellence is generally judged negatively, because its positive aspect becomes evident only at a later stage of the development, when maturity is attained and the artistic talents developed. A critical and comparative study of the Doṣas as discussed by Bharata, Bhāmaha, Vāmana and even later theorists would clearly show that all of the Doṣas may be covered up by one or other of the Doṣas discussed in the *Purāṇa*. Bharata[2] mentions merely the Doṣas without classifying them in any way. The Doṣas mentioned by him are Agūḍha (circumlocution), Arthāntara (digression into irrelevant matter), Arthahīna (incoherence or multiplicity of meaning). Bhinnārtha (Rusticity, or want of refinement or changing the desired sense by another), Ekārtha (tautology), Abhiplutārtha, Nyāyādapetam, Viṣama, Visandhi and Śabdacyuta. The following analysis will show how Bharata's Doṣas may be equated with those in the *Agni-purāṇa*.

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[1] *Agn.* 347/1.

[2] *Nāṭ.* XVII, 87-95.

Bharata	*Agn.*
(i) Agūḍha	Gūdhārthatā, a subvariety of Avispaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa.
(ii) Arthāntara	Viparyastārthatā, a sub-variety of Avispaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa.
(iii) Arthahīna	Saṁśayārtha, a sub-variety of Avispaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa.
(iv) Bhinnārtha	Grāmyatva, a Vākya Doṣa.
(v) Ekārtha	Punarukta, Sādhāraṇa śabda Doṣa.
(vi) Abhiplutārtha	It may come under either Avispaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa or Vyastasambaddhatā Padadoṣa.
(vii) Nyāyādapeta	It may also come under Vyastasambaddhatā Pada Doṣa.
(viii) Viṣama	Chāndasatva Vākya Doṣa.
(ix) Visandhi	Visandhi, Sādhāraṇa Śabda Doṣa.
(x) Śabdahīna	Vyastasambadhatā, Sādhāraṇa Śābda Doṣa.

58. *Bhāmaha, first set of Doṣas:*—Bhāmaha's[1] scheme of the Doṣas is difierent from that of Bharata, new blemishes being added to it. The Doṣas diacussed by him, as also by other writers, may be summed up and equated with those in the *Agnipurāṇa*, as under :—

Bhāmaha	*Agni-purāṇa*
(i) Apārtha (absence of complete sense)	It may come under Avispaṣṭatva Vākya Dośa, Gūḍhārthatā sub-variety may perhaps be equated with it.
(ii) Vyartha (incongruity with the sense.)	Viparyastārthatā, a sub-variety of Avispaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa.

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[1] *Kā.* chap. IV.

(iii)	Ekārtha (Tautology)	Punarukta, a sub-varity of Sādhāraṇa Śabda Doṣa.
(iv)	Sasaṁśaya (ambiguity)	Saṁśayārthatva, a subvariety of Avispaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa.
(v)	Apakrama (violation of syntactical regularity)	Kārakabhraṁśa.
(vi)	Śabdahīna (use of words not approved of by correct usage).	Asādhutva.
(vii)	Yatibhraṣṭa (Deviation from the rules of metrical pause)	Chāndasatvam, Vākya Doṣa.
(viii)	Bhinnavṛtta (use of long or short syllables in the wrong place in a metre)	
(ix)	Visandhi (Disjunction of euphonic combination, when it is necessary)	Visandhi, Sādhāraṇa Śabda Doṣa.
(x)	Deśakālalokanyāyāgamavirodhi (Inconsistency with regard to place, time or mechanical arts, worldly ussage, logic and Āgama or Dharma Śāstra).	Yyastasambaddhatā Pada Doṣa.

The above ten Doṣas occur *verbatim* in Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*.[1]

59. *Bhāmaha's second set of Doṣas* :—While discussing the general characteristics of Kāvya in another context, Bhāmaha[2] gives a second set of ten Doṣas which may also be equated with those occurring in the *Agni-purāṇa*.

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[1] III, 125-126;

[2] *Kā*. chap. I.;

	Bhāmaha.	*Agni-purāṇa*
(i)	Neyārtha (far-fetchedness)	Gūḍhārthatā sub-variety of Avispaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa.
(ii)	Kliṣṭa (obstruction of the sense)	
(iii)	Anyārtha (disappearance of the sense)	Saṁśayārthatva sub-variety of Avispaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa.
(iv)	Avācaka (inexpressiveness)	Viparyastārthatā sub-variety of Avispaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa.
(v)	Gūḍhaśabdābhidhāna (use of difficult expression)	Kaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa.
(vi)	Ayuktimat (impropriety)	Vyastasambadhatā sub-variety of Sādhāraṇa Pada Doṣa.
(vii)	Śrutiduṣṭa (expressly indecent)	Grāmyatva.
(viii)	Arthaduṣṭa (implicitly indecent sense)	Grāmyatva Vākya Doṣa.
(ix)	Kalpanāduṣṭa (indencent imagination)	Grāmyatva Vākya Doṣa.
(x)	Śrutikaṣṭa (Harsh sounding)	Kaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa.

60. *Vāmana* :—Vāmana,[1] unlike his predecessors, gives somewhat elaborate classification of the Doṣas. He divides them into four classess—Pada Doṣa, Padārtha Doṣa, Vākya Doṣa and Vākyārtha Doṣa.

This classification is not so elaborate as that in the *Agni-purāṇa* and it may easily be covered up by it. All the four sub-divisions of Vāmana can easily be accomodated under Pada and Vākya Doṣa varieties of the Vācaka category of the Doṣas in the *Agni-purāṇa* :—

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[1] *Kā. Sū.* II pp. 16–31.

	Vāmana	*Agni-purāṇa*
	Pada Doṣas	
(i)	Asādhu	Asādhutva Pada Doṣa.
(ii)	Kaṣṭa	Kaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa,
(iii)	Grāmya[1]	Aprayuktatva Pada Doṣa.
(iv)	Apratīta	A variety of Aprayuktatva Pada Doṣa.
(v)	Anarthaka	It is not possible to find its equivalent in the *Purāṇa*. It may, however, be equated with Vyastasambaddhatā variety of Sābdhāraṇa Pada Doṣa.
	Padārtha Doṣa.	
(i)	Anyārtha	Viparyastārthatā sub-variety of Avispaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa.
(ii)	Neyārtha	It may come under Viparyastārthatā sub-variety of Avispaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa.
(iii)	Gūḍhārtha	It may come under Gūḍhārthatā subvariety of Avispaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa.
(iv)	Aślīla	Grāmyatva variety of Vākya Doṣa.
(v)	Kliṣṭa	It may come under Gūḍhārthatā sub-variety of Avispaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa.
	Vākya Doṣa.	
(i)	Chinnavṛitta	Chāndasatva Vākya Doṣa.
(ii)	Yatibhraṣṭa	Chāndasatva Vākya Doṣa.
(iii)	Visandhi	Visandhi sub-variety of Śādhāraṇa Pada Doṣa.

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[1] *Grāmyatva* in the *Agni-purāṇa*, unlike in Vāmana, indicates indecent or vulgar sense.

Vākyārtha Daṣa.

(i) Vyartha	Viruddhatva, it may come under Vyastasambaddhatā Sādhāraṇa Pada Doṣa,
(ii) Ekārtha	Punarukta sub-variety of Sādhāraṇa Pada Doṣa.
(iii) Sandigdha	Saṁśayārthatva sub-variety of Avispaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa.
(iv) Aprayukta	It may come under Gūḍhārthatā sub-variety of Aviśpaṣṭatva Vākya Doṣa.
(v) Apākrama	Vyastasambaddhatā sub-variety of Sādhāraṇa Śabda Doṣa.

61. *Mammaṭa*:—Mammaṭa[1] gives a very elaborate account of the Doṣas classifying them broadly under three classes, Śabda Doṣa, Arth Doṣa and Rasa Doṣa. Under Śabda Doṣa he gives three sub-varieties–Pada Doṣa, Padāṁśa Dosa, and Vākya Doṣa. This classification also agrees in fundamentals with that given in the *Agni-purāṇa*. Mammaṭa gives sixteen Pada Doṣas, twenty-one Vākya Doṣas under the variety Śabda Doṣas, twenty-three Artha Doṣas and ten Rasa-Doṣas. Thus in all he explains seventy Doṣas of various types. All the Doṣas discussed by Mammaṭa, with the exception of those pertaining to Rasa, may be traced to the earlier writers and may also be equated with those occurring in the *Agni-purāṇa*.

62. *Viśvanātha* :—Viśvanātha in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*[2] adopts, more or less, Mammaṭa's elaborate scheme of Doṣas. He defines[3] Doṣas as those that mar the development of Rasa, and are divided into five classes, those occurring in Pada, Pedāṁśa, Vākya, Artha, and Rasa. He gives also, more or less, the same number of Doṣas, though the number differs slightly in the case of different classes.

63. *Rīti* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* mentions four Rītis-Pāñcālī,

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[1] *Kp.* VII, 50, 51; [2] VII Paricheda; [3] *Sā.* D. VII, 12.

Gauḍī, Vaidarbhī and Lāṭī. Thus, it adopts Lāṭī in addition to the three Rītis of Vāmana.[1] Again like Vāmana,[2] the *Purāṇa* thinks that the Rītis are so named in view of their being in vogue in a particular country, as the names Gauḍadeśīyā, Lāṭīyā[3] etc. indicate. Unlike the earlier writers like Daṇḍin,[4] Vāmana[5] etc., who regard the Guṇas or their opposites as the essentials of Rīti, the *Purāṇa* does not distinguish the Rītis by the presence or absence of certain Guṇas, but classifies them according to the absence or presence in varying degree of compounds, the exuberance or paucity of metaphorical expressions and the variations in the degree of softness, if present. Thus Pāñcālī should be soft in diction having metaphorical expressions and should possess short compounds.[6] The Gauḍīyā should have long compounds[7] and possess diction of ambiguous import. The Vaidarbhī, on the other hand, is quite free from compounds and its diction should not be too soft, and there should be only a few metaphorical expressions or none at[8] all. In the case of Lāṭīyā, the compounds are not very predominant and the diction is clear and easily understandable.[9] Of the extant writers, Rudraṭa is the first to associate compounds with Rīti. He mentions four Rītis of which Vaidarbhī is without compounds,[10] while varying compounds are to be found in Pāñcālī, Lāṭīyā and Gauḍīyā.[11] And these Rītis are associated with dramatic speech but they may also apply to poetry in general.

64. *Vṛtti* :—The *Purāṇa* has also made a passing reference to the Vṛttis used in dramatic compositions. Out of the four Vṛttis (Bhāratī, Ārbhaṭī, Kaiśikī and Sātvatī), only the first two are discussed. As for their classifidation, the *Purāṇa* follows partly the principle adopted in Bharat's *Nāṭyaśāstra*[12] with the difference that the Vṛttis here are not assigned

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[1] *Kā. Sū.* I, 2, 9.; [2] *Ibid.* I. 2, 10; [3] *Agn.* 340/1;
[4] *Kd.* I, 47; [5] *Kā. Sū.* I, 2, 11–13; [6] *Agn.* 340/2;
[7] *Ibid.* 340/2; [8] *Ibid.* 340/3; [9] *Ibid.* 340/4;
[10] *Kl.* II, 6; [11] *Ibid.* II, 5; [12] chap. XX.

to a particular Rasa. According to the *Purāṇa*, the Vṛttis depend for their effect upon the action of the drama and not upon the words or style thereof and it is here that the Vṛttis may be distinguished from the Rītis.

(5)

65. *Rasa, its origin* :—The *Agni-purāṇa*, unlike any other writer, tries to trace Rasa to the Supreme Reality, the very embodiment of *Ānanda* from which proceed *Ahaṅkāra* and *Abhimāna*, and the latter gives rise to *Rati*, from which various other seniments take rise. From it proceed *Rāga*, *Taikṣṇa*, *Avaṣṭambha* and *Saṅkoca*. These respectively give rise to Śṛṅgāra, Rudra, Vīra and Bhībhatsa. These four become the basic sentiments. They, in their turn, give rise to other sentiments e. g. Śṛṅgāra produces Hāsya, Raudra Karuṇa, Vīra produces Adbhuta, and Bībhatsa produces Bhayānaka.[1] Bharata also in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*[2] refers to these four basic sentiments and the remaining four taking their rise from them. Thus, the *Agni-purāṇa* propounds the theory that there are four basic sentiments from which proceed the remaining four sentiments, as also the sentiment Śānta. An effort is made by some scholars to liken this theory of the origin of Rasa to that propounded by Bhoja.[3] According to Bhoja,[4] the Supreme egoism or self-consciousness, which when developed and realised in the absence of all impediments, through the Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and the Vyabhicāribhāvas represented in action or poetry, becoming blissfull state of mind, constitutes Rasa. Emotions love, mirth etc., are born of the person possessed of self-consciousness, and never is it that these emotions are transformed into the detectable Rasas, They only add lustre and beauty to Śṛṅgāra, like the rays of light to fire.

66. *Bhoja's theory of Rasa* :—To some extant, Bhoja's theory of Rasa agrees with that propounded in the *Purāṇa*,

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[1] 339/7-8;
[2] *Nāṭ.* VI, 39;
[3] *J. R. A. S.* 1923, p. 540 ff;
[4] *Śṛṅ.* Vol. I, pp. 2, 246.

but the two theories do not agree in all respects, and hence they are not identical. According to Bhoja, Śṛṅgāra is the only Rasa from which proceed all the emotions like Raudra, Karuṇa etc. Thus in his opinion, Śṛṅgāra is the only Rasa, whereas according to the *Agni-purāṇa*, Rati or the feeling of pleasurableness proceeds from *Abhimāna* and it gives rise to *Rāga* (aesthetic pleasure), *Taikṣṇa* etc., which in their turn give rise to the four basic Rasas, and from these four basic sentiments proceed the remaining four sentiments. Thus in this respect, the two theories differ considerably.

67. *Rasa in Kāvya and Drama* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* like Bhoja associates Rasa with both dramatic composition and Kāvya as such. The *Purāṇa* states that dramatic speech without Rasa is not charming like wealth without renunciation, and if a poet were Śṛṅgārī, his poetic composition would be saturated with Rasa.[1] The origin of Rasa is assigned to Vibhāvas, and the reciprocity of the suggestion between Rasa and Bhāva is stressed. The later hair-splitting about the *Rasa-niṣpatti* is not even hinted in the *Purāṇa*.

(6)

68. *Dhvani* :—In the words of S. K. De, "The most peculiar feature of the *Agni-purāṇa* theory is the absence of the doctrine of Dhvani, although the concept of Dhvani in included casually in the figure Ākṣepa." Though the principle of Dhvani, as unterstood by the *Dhavanikāra*, Ānandvardhana and later developed by the subsequent theorists, is not known to it, still the concept as such is not entirely unknown to it. The *Dhavnyāloka*, at the very outset, refers to earlier masters, the great exponents of the Dhvani concept.[2] So the concept of Dhvani existed long before it was referred to by the *Dhvanikāra*.

Dhvani concept in its earlier form in Agni-purāṇa :—The *Purāṇa* presents the Dhvani concept in its earlier form.

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[1] 339/9, 11;

[2] *Dhv.* 1, 1;

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According to it, the constituents of literature (*Vāṅmaya*) are Dhvani (sound), Vāṇī (import), Pada (Word) and Vākya[1] (sentence). Thus, Dhvani as a constituent of literature is taken in its general import, and may be likened to the concept of *Sphoṭa* of the grammarians. This may be regarded as the general concept of Dhvani, not yet quite distinguished from the *Sphoṭa* concept of the grammarians. But the paritcular concept of Dhvani in its crude form may also be traced to the *Purāṇa*.

69. *Abhivyakti* :—In the list of Śabdārthālaṅkāras, the *Purāṇa* includes Abhivyakti. While explaining it, the *Purāṇa* discusses the various powers of words to indicate different senses. In that context, the *Purāṇa* divides all expressions into Śruti and Ākṣepa,[2] and brings Abhidhā and Lakṣaṇā under the first, and Dhvani under the second.

70. *Dhvani as Alaṅkāra* :—It defines Dhvani as the flashing of tha sense not ordinarily got by mere hearing, where the word and the ordinary sense make their own import secondary, and give primary importance to that got by means of Dhvani,[3] According to the *Dhvanyāloka*,[4] Dhvani is that sense which is suggested by word and sense having undermined their ordinary import, and it constitutes Kāvya as such. Thus, the two definitions of Dhvani agree very closely. But the *Purāṇa* regards thls *Dhvani* as Alaṅkāra and includes under it Śākṣepa, Samāsokti, Apahnuti and Paryyāyokta.[5].

71. *Conclusion* :—Thus, the concept of Dhvani, as found in the *Purāṇa*, is not yet quite distingushed from its grammatical counter-part Sphoṭa, and is merely regarded as decorative embellishment and hence it is classed as Alaṅkāra.

72. *Kāvya; Definition* :—A critical survey of the Alaṅkāra portion in the *Agni-purāṇa* indicates that its scheme of poetics lays all stress on Alaṅkāra as such. The term Alaṅkāra is used in a comprehensive sense, so that even the Guṇas may

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[1] *Agn.* 237/1; [2] *Ibid.* 345/7; [3] *Ibid.* 345/14, 15.
[4] 1, 13; [5] *Agn.* 345/18.

be included under it, though they are also regarded as a separate entity. Thus, the *Purāṇa* defines Kāvya as that which abounds in literary embellishments, possesses literary merits and is free from literary blemishes.[1] In this definition, three elements are stressed *viz.* Alaṅkāra, Guṇa and Doṣa. In the account of the Arthālaṅkāras[2] also, a great stress is laid on the Alaṅkāras, where the goddess of speech is described as a widow without the Arthālaṅkāras. But this does not mean that other elements were lost sight of. The *Purāṇa* refers to the importance of Rasa in poetry while explaining Mahākāvya.[3] Mahākāvya is described as that which embodies all the Vṛittis, Bhāvas, Rītis, and it is decorated with the Guṇas. Hence, it is known as Mahākāvya, its author is regarded as Mahākavi, and Rasa is its life. Here, it may be suggested that Viśvanātha's definition of Kāvya is anticipated, according to which Kāvya is composition having Rasa as its soul.[4] Though Rasa is regarded as the soul of Mahākāvya, still the general trend of the account in the *Purāṇa* indicates that Rasa was mostly confined to dramatic compositions, and was not yet adopted as the most essential element in Kāvya.

73. *Alaṅkāra theorists* :—The definition of Kāvya adopted in the *Agni-purāṇa* agrees very closely with that found in the works of the theorists, like Bhoja, who defines Kāvya as that which is free from literary blemishes possessing literary merits and ornamented with literary embelishments and also endowed with Rasa.[5] Thus all the elements mentioned in the *Purāṇa* are included in Bhoja's definition. This should not make us suppose that one has borrowed from the other. At least, borrowing on the part of the *Purāṇa* seems to be out of question, because the Alaṅkāra system in it possesses archaic traits and differs fundamentally from the extant system. This similarity may be explained on the ground that Bhoja was a great exponent of an old tradition, which was perhaps losing ground in his time. And some of the elements of

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[1] *Ibid.* 337/7; [2] *Ibid*: 334/2; [3] *Ibid.* 337/31–33;
[4] *Sa. D I*, 1; [5] *Sars. Kaṇ.* I, 1.

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Kāvya like Guṇa, Doṣa (rather Adoṣa) and Alaṅkāra were so well established that even great exponent of Dhvani theory like Mammaṭa had to mention them prominently in his defination of Kāvya, according to which Kāvya is constituted of word and its sense, free from blemishes and possessing literary merits and sometimes even without literary embelishments.[1] In the definition, the wards *Analaṅkṛtī punaḥ kvāpi* show that the idea of Alaṅkāra was so deep-rooted that Mammaṭa, though an exponent of Dhvani theory, could not altogether discard the Alaṅkāras and include Dhvani in their place. Of course, he includes Dhvani in the classification of Kāvya and calls it poetry of the best type. While defining Vākya, one of the constituents of Vāṅmaya (literature), the *Purāṇa* mentions *verbatim* the definition of Kāvya as given by Daṇḍin.[2]

(7)

74. *Classification*:—The well-known scheme of classifying Kāvya into three, Gadya, Padya and Miśra is adopted in the *Agni-purāṇa.* A very elaborate scheme of the sub-divisions of the three divisions is also given, which has points of similarity with the scheme adopted by the earlier writers like Daṇḍin[3], Vāmana,[4] and lost sight of by the later writers like Mammaṭa, Viśvanātha and others.

75. *Gadya* :—Gadya is defined after the manner of Daṇḍin as a composition not in a metrical form. Two sets of the sub-divisions of Gadya are given, one according to its form and the other according to its contents. To the first set belong three sub-divisions—Cūrṇaka, Utkalikā and Gandhivṛtta, and to the second belong five–Ākhyayikā, Kathā, Khaṇḍakathā, Parikathā and Kathānikā. Daṇḍin refers merely to the second set of sub-divisions and there too only two sub-divisions *viz.* Kathā and Ākhyāyikā are mentioned and not five; all of which are clearly explained in the *Purāṇa.* But Daṇḍin discusses some of the distinguishing features between Kathā and Ākhya-

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[1] *Kp.* 1, 4;

[2] *Kd.* I, 10; c. f. *Agn.* 337/6;

[3] *Kd.* I/11, 13, 14, 23–28, 31;

[4] *Kā. sū.* I, 3, 21–22.

yikā and ultimately regards them as one with practically no distinctive marks. At the end of the discussion, he says that other *Ākhyātajātayaḥ*, perhaps, hinting at other sub-divisions (mentioned in the *Agni-purāṇa*) may alse be included under the two. This clearly shows that by the time of Daṇḍin, the distinctive features of the five sub-divisions of Gadya were lost sight of and only two, Kathā and Ākhyayikā, were regarded as somewhat distinctive but evan with regard to them there was much confusion. Hence, Daṇḍin had to state finally that both were just the same and not distinctive. Daṇḍin considered only two as important while the *Agni-purāṇa* added to these. The first set of the sub-divisions of Gadya comprising Cūrṇaka, Utkalikā and Gandhivṛtta is not mentioned by Daṇḍin. But Vāmana clearly mentions it and defines all the three sub-divisions but he over-looks the second set so clearly discussed by Daṇḍin. Thus the *Agni-purāṇa* has perhaps borrowed from both Vāmana and Daṇḍin or in all probability represents some archaic system.

76. *Padya, classification, Daṇḍin, Vāmana* :—Padya is defined in the *Agni-purāṇa* as a metrical composition having four quarters. Like Gadya, it is also classified in two different ways, *viz*. (i) on the basis of form and (ii) on the basis of contents. The first set of sub-divisions comprises two,—Vṛtta regulated by the number of letters, and Jāti regulated by the number of syllabic instants in each quarter. The Vṛtta is again sub-divided into three, Sama, Ardha-Sama and Viṣama. The second set comprises seven sub-divisions—Mahākāvya, Kalāpa, Paryāyabandha, Viśeṣaka, Kulaka, Muktaka and Kośa, which are all clearly explained. On the other hand, Daṇḍin does not give all these details. He merely sums them up and says that the *Chando-viciti* gives all the details about the classification. He also describes Padya as having four quarters (*Catuṣpadī*) and sub-divides into two, Vṛtta and Jāti, and goes on to mention by name Muktaka, Kulaka, Kośa and Saṅghāta, the first three of which are referred to in the *Purāṇa* as sub-divisions of Padya belonging to the second set. He

does not discuss all these details, but merely refers to the sub-divisions and then explains in details the Mahākāvya, which is also discussed in the *Purāṇa* as a sub-division of Padya belonging to the second set. Vāmana's classification of Padya is altogether different. He sub-divides Padya into Anibaddha and Nibaddha, and under these two classes, it is possible to bring the five sub-divisions of the *Purāṇa,* Mahākāvya to be brought under Nibaddha and the remaining six (Kalāpa, Paryāyabandha, Viśeṣaka, Kulaka, Muktaka and Kośa) under Anibaddha. Perhaps, Vāmana did not adopt the old system as Daṇḍin did, though the latter simply made a partial reference to it. On the other hand, Vāmana tries to rationalise the classification. He hints at the elaborate classification of Padya in the earlier period as revealed in the *Agni-purāṇa* and Daṇḍin, when he remarks that there are innumerable varieties of Padya.[1] He does not even mention Mahākāvya by name but says that the Daśarūpakas or the ten varieties of dramatic composition are the best among the Sandarbhas or the Nibaddhas. This is something novel and unique. The theorists in general do not confuse drama with poetry.

77. *Viśvanātha* :—Viśvanātha, at a later stage, gives another classification of Kāvya as Śravya and Dṛśya, and includes drama under the second category.[2] He gives in details the elaborate system of classification as found in the *Agni-purāṇa* undar the category of Śravyakāvya. His system is much more elaborate than that of the *Agni-purāṇa.* He divides *Śravyakāvya* into two–Gadya and Padya. He does not mention the third variety called Miśra. But at the end of his account, he mentions the subvariety of *Gadya-padyamaya-Kāvya*[3] i. e. Miśra Kāvya, as will be noticed presently. Padya is defined as a metrical composition; one such metrical unit would constitute Muktaka, two Yugmaka, three Sandānika, four Kalāpaka and five Kulaka.[4] This list includes atleast three

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[1] *Kā. Sū,* I, 3, 27;

[2] *Sā. D.* VI 1.

[3] *Ibid.* VI, 301;

[4] *Ibid.* VI, 302;

sub-divisions, Muktaka, Kalāpaka and Kulaka of the *Agni-purāṇa* with a slight difference in their significance. Muktaka and Kulaka are the same in the *Purāṇa* as well as the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa,* though in the case of Kulaka the latter fixes five metrical units, whereas the *Purāṇa* assigns many to it. Kalāpaka in the *Purāṇa* comprises three metrical units, whereas that in the *Sahitya-darpaṇa* four. Thus *Kalāpaka* in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* would be the *Viśeṣaka* of the *Purāṇa.*

78. *Mahākāvya* :—The *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*[1] gives a detailed description of Mahākāvya, also called Sargabandha, after the manner of Daṇḍin. Viśvanātha's description of Mahākāvya is a sort of elaborate commentary on that of Daṇḍin,[2] it also embodies some new points e. g. reference to Nāṭaka Sandhis and the details about the Vṛittis and the Sargas. But the description of Mahākāvya in the *Agni-purāṇa,* though elaborate and substantially not much different from that of Daṇḍin, differs from that of Viśvanātha. The *Purāṇa* states that Mahākāvya should be in Sanskrit, whereas Viśvanātha says that it may be in Prākṛta and Apabhraṁśa as well. This may mean that the *Purāṇa* was not aware of the *Gauḍavaho.*

79. *Khaṇḍa Kāvya* :—Viśvanātha gives a variety known as Khaṇḍakāvya,[3] which deals with one aspect of Kāvya and finds no place in either the *Kāvyādarśa* or the *Agni-purāṇa.* He notices Kośa as a *Ślokasamūha*[4] which is also mentioned in the *Agni-purāṇa.*

80. *Gadya in Sāhitya-darpaṇa* :—Viśvanātha defines Gadya as devoid of metres, and gives four varieties–Muktaka, Gandhivṛtta, Utkalikā and Cūrṇaka. The first is without compounds, the second has some metrical composition as well, the third has long compounds and the fourth short compounds.[5] This classification is just the same as found in the *Purāṇa* with the only difference that Muktaka variety of Gadya is not mentioned in the *Purāṇa.* The Kathā and Ākhyāyikā

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[1] VI, 300;
[2] *Kā.* I, 14–22;
[3] *Sā. D.* VI, 308;
[4] *Ibid.* VI, 309
[5] *Ibid.* VI. 310;

varieties of Gadya are alse given and their points of distinction summed up.

81. *Miśra* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* mentions three divisions of Kāvya–Gadya, Padya and Miśra, but does not explain and discuss the third i.e. Miśra, which is left out. At the end of three-hnndred and thirty-seventh chapter of the *Purāṇa*, there seems to be some confusion in the treatment of the classification, because it is stated in the last verse of the chapter[1] that the type *Prakīrṇa* (as it occurs after Kośa, it may be regarded as that of Padya), in which the cantos or divisions embody different metres, is divided into two groups *viz.* the audible (Śravya) and the dramatic composition (Dṛśya). This confusion is perhaps due to the interpolation of the last verse in the chapter to embody the classification of Kāvya into Śravya and Dṛśya as mentioned in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* at the hands of a scribe or editor to connect it with the account of dramatic composition given in the following chapter (338). Thus without paying any heed to the last verse, it may be suggested that for the *Agni-purāṇa* the account of drama may have consituted Miśra Kāvya, which is left un-discussed. Obviously, the link between the two chapters is missing.

82. *Daṇḍin and Viśvanātha* :—Daṇḍin explains the Miśra variety of Kāvya and includes dramatic composition under it. He states that there is a certain variety known as Campū in both prose and metrical from. Viśvanātha, on the other hand, does not include drama under this category. He says that Kāvya which combines both Gadya and Padya is called Campū.[2] He gives another variety of Miśra Kāvya called Viruda, the penegyrics of the kings,[3] and also a third variety known as Karambhaka, wherein several languages are employed.[4] Thus Viśvanātha gives, in a rather elaborate form, the classification of Kāvya as known to earlier times and also

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[1] 337/38;

[2] *Sā. D.* VI, 313;

[3] *Ibid.* VI, 314.

[4] *Ibid.* VI, 315.

embodies in his work new ideas and view-points giving rise to fresher varieties and sub-varieties. The point significant to the present purpose is that he preserves even at such a late date, a very old tradition, which is embodied in the *Agni-purāṇa.*

(8)

83. *Conclusion* :—The foregoing estimate of the Alaṅkāra portion in the *Agni-purāṇa* shows that the *Purāṇa* embodies in general the views and theories of writers like Bharata, Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha, etc. The *Purāṇa* has stressed the importance of the Alaṅkāras. The word Alaṅkāra is used in the *Purāṇa* in a comprehensive sense and even the Guṇas, not yet associated with Rīti, are included under it. The treatment of the Doṣas is very elaborate and systematic. Nearly all the Doṣas, treated elaborately by the subsequent writers including Mammaṭa and Viśvanātha may be traced to the scheme adopted in the *Purāṇa*. The Rītis, Vṛttis and Pravṛttis, of which the first attained all importance at the hands of Vāmana, were regarded as modes of writing, generally confined to dramatic compositions.

84. *Rasa Theory* :—The *Purāṇa* also knows the Rasa-theory mostly confined to dramatic compositions, which seems to be more or less, completely developed, because Rasa is described as produced by means of Vibhāvas, Sthāyībhāvas, Vyabhicārībhāvas etc. which are also discussed in full. But the Rasas mentioned are not independent entities. The four—Śṛṅgāra, Raudra, Vīra and Bībhatsa, are the basic Rasas giving rise, in their turn, respectively to Hāsya, Karuṇa, Adbhuta and Bhayānaka. But even the four basic Rasas are not quite independent entities, for, they are also traced to the different mental and psychological states like Rāga, Taikṣṇa, Avaṣṭambha and Saṅkoca. These mental states rise from Rati, that is pleasurableness, which itself proceeds fram Abhimāna of the Ātman. This synthetic analysis with regard to the production of Rasa is quite psychological and is not to be noticed in the extant works, which confine themselves mostly

to the exposition of Bharata's *Sūtra* about *Rasa-niṣpatti*. The addition of the ninth Rasa Śānta is definitely a much later interpolation, because it seems to be an unnecessary appendage to the eight Rasas, which are inter-related and there is no place for Śānta in the Rasa-scheme of the *Purāṇa*.

85. *Dhvani* :—The principle of Dhvani is also mentioned in the *Purāṇa* but it has not yet attained its place of importance in Kāvya. It still belongs to the domain of grammar rather than poetics. It is regarded as one of the constituents of *Vāṅmaya* (literature) along with *Vāṇī, Pada* and *Vākya*. The Dhvani, as mentioned along with Abhivayakti is regarded as Śabdārthālaṅkāra, and has been analysed in the manner of the *Dhvanyāloka*. But it is described as constituting the Alaṅkāras like Ākṣepa, Samāsokti, Apahnuti and Paryāyokta. Some writers finding similar views in the *Purāṇa*[1] and the *Dhvanyāloka* try to establish that the *Purāṇa* may have borrowed from the *Dhvanyāloka*, hence it may be later in date than that work.

86. *Sankaran's view criticised* :—A. Sankaran in his *The theories of Rasa* and *Dhvani*[2] quotes the verses defining Dhvani from the *Agni-Purāṇa* and the *Kārikā* defining Dhvani from the *Dhvanyāloka*, and states that "the author of the *Agni-purāṇa* appears to be acquainted with that Kārikā of the *Dhvanyāloka* in which the Dhvani is defined." Changing the reading *Svayamupārjanam* to *Svamupasarjanam*,[3] he feels that there is "little difference between the two definitions of Dhvani except that of voice." But even a causal glance at the two definitions will make it evident that the two definitions are wide apart. It is the Ākṣepa i. e. suppression of the common meanig and ushering in of a new meaning (Ākṣepa continued to be regarded as an independent Arthālaṅkāra even by the later writers on Alaṅkāraśāstra) that is called Dhvani in the *Purāṇa*, and this Ākṣepa cannot but remind us of the principle of Sphoṭa of the gram-

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[1] *Agn.* 345/14–15; C. F. *Dhv.* I, 13, [2] pp. 38–39;

[3] *Agn.* 345/15;

marians. According to the *Dhvanyāloka*, the Dhvani is *Kāvya-viśeṣa*, some particular poetic element, which is saggested on the suppression of the common meaning. Here the process of arriving at the conception of Dhvani may be similar, but the two conceptions of Dhvani as found in the *Purāṇa* and the *Dhvanyāloka* cannot be similar. There is much difference between Ākṣepa and *Kāvya-viśeṣa*. In the *Purāṇa*, Dhvani is merely confined to the domain of word and its sense; it has not yet entered the precincts of Kāvya, whereas in the *Dhvanyāloka*, it is *Kāvyaviśeṣa* and as such the very soul of Kāvya. Hence, Sankaran's view is unacceptable.

87. *Misconception :*—There is another misconception about the Alaṅkāra portion of the *Agni-purāṇa*. In the words of A. Sankaran[1] "This section compiled by some unknown writer contains but a loose and disjointed expression, often in their own words, of the different views held by early writers like Bharata, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and others,"[2] In support of this view certain verses common to the *Agni-purāṇa* and other works are given. But as already noticed, the similarity between the *Purāṇa* and other works may be due to their dependence on earlier authorities. In some rare cases, even borrowing may be possible, but that should be considered as an interpolation, as has already been pointed out.

88. *Rasa Theory of Bhoja and Agni-Purāṇa :*—An effort is

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[1] *T. R. D.* pp. 35–36;

[2] Two verses *Apāre Kāvya Saṁsāre* etc. of the *Dhv* are indentical with the *Agn.* (339/10.11). S. K. De; *Sanskrit Poetics*, II, 102, 104. Verses from Bharata, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin are cited in the *Purāṇa*. *Nāṭya*, VI, 36 a is identical with *Agn*, 339/12 a. Rudraṭa added *Lāṭīyā* to the three Rītis of Vāmana (Rudraṭa, II, 3, 4, 6). The *Agn.* (340/1) also admits four Rītis. Rudraṭa (II, 19) admits five *Vṛttis*, so does the *Agn.* (343/3). The definition of Lakṣaṇā in the *Agn.* (345/11) is identical with that in the *Tantra Vārtika* (p. 318). The *Agn.* (339/9 b) is identical with the *Śṛṅgāratilaka* I, 6;

also made[1] to find out similarity between the Rasa theory of Bhoja and that in the *Purāṇa*. But, as already noticed, there is much difference between the two; of course both the works stress the importance of Śṛṅgāra Rasa. Thus a few traces of similarity between the *Purāṇa* and other extant works may be found. In the light of the facts discussed above, it may be stated that the Alaṅkāra portion in the *Agni-purāṇa* is based on the works of the earlier writers like Bharata, Daṇḍin etc. The author of the *Purāṇa*, in keeping with the general scheme of the *Purāṇa* to present *Sārātsāram* of different branches of learning, has tried to summarise the earlier works on the subject..

89. *Date :*—As for the date of the section on Alaṅkāraśāstra in the *Purāṇa*, the problem is dealt with at some length in the chapter on the date of the *Purāṇa*, but it may be suggested that the section stresses the Alaṅkāras most and does not distinguish between Alaṅkāra and Guṇa, and regards Dhvani merely as Ākṣepa Alaṅkāra, which ushers in a new sense by suppressing the ordinary. In the light of all this, it may easily be assigned to the early stage of the development of the *Alaṅkāraśāstra*. Mention of Rīti and Guṇa as important elements of Kāvya in the *Purāṇa* may indicate that the Alaṅkāra section may have been embodied in the *Purāṇa* some-where about the time of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, about the seventh or eight century A. D.

(ii) DRAMATURGY

90. *Dramaturgy in Agni-purāṇa :*—The *Agni-purāṇa* embodies within it some matter pertaining to the theory and technique of the art of drama. The topics connected with dramaturgy as occurring in the *Purāṇa* are exposition of Nāṭaka (*Nāṭaka-nirūpaṇa*),[2] an account of the hero and the heroines,[3] exposition of actions of bodily limbs at the commencement of

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[1] *T. R. D.* p. 39. [2] Chap. 338; [3] Chap. 339/36, 41;

dance[1] (*Nṛtyādyaṅgakāryanirūpaṇa*), and exposition of acting[2] etc., (*Abhinayādinirūpaṇa*). The *Agni-purāṇa* does not treat the subject in a detailed manner but merely sums up the important topics connected with dramaturgy, which may be stated in their proper order;–purpose of Drama,[3] its types,[4] the plot with its two movements–general (Sāmānya), particular (Viśeṣa)[5], introductories of thirty-two kinds, such as, Nāndī, Mukha[6] etc., prologue (Āmukha or Prastāvanā) classed under three sub-heads *viz*, Pravarttaka, Kathotodghāta and Prayogātiśaya,[7] source of the plot[8]–Siddha (old treatises), Utprekṣita (creation of the poet), five Arthaprakṛtis, five Ceṣṭās and five Sandhis,[9] factors of time and place, the Doṣas of drama,[10] characters,[11] and actions and movements of the various bodily limbs in dancing and acting.[12]

91. *Purpose of drama :*—The purpose of drama, according to the *Purāṇa*, is the attainment of three-fold objective of human existence–Dharma, Artha and Kāma.[13]

92. *Types of Drama :*—While describing the various types of drama, no distinction is made between Rūpaka and Uparūpaka, as is noticeable in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha. The *Purāṇa* gives twenty-seven types of drama *viz.* Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa, Ḍima, Ihāmṛga, Samavakāra, Prahasana, Vyāyoga, Bhāṇa, Vīthi, Aṅka, Troṭaka, Nāṭikā, Saṭṭaka, Śilpaka, Karṇa; Lapa, Durmallikā, Prasthāna, Ehāṇikā, Bhāṇī, Goṣṭhī, Hallīśaka, Nāṭyarāsakam, Kāvya, Śrīgaditam, Ullāpaka, and Prenkhaṇa.[14] The *Nāṭyaśāstra*[15] and the *Daśarūpaka*[16] give only ten types of Rūpaka, no mention being made of Uparūpaka. But the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*[17] gives both the ten Rūpakas and the eighteen Uparūpakas with explanation and illustrations. The first ten

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1. Chap. 341;
2. Chap. 342;
3. Chap. 338/7;
4. Chap. 338/8;
5. Chap. 338/4-7;
6. Cha. 338/8-9;
7. 338/10-16;
8. 338/17-19;
9. 338/20-22
10. 338/23-25
11. 339/34-41
12. Chap. 341-342;
13. 338/7.
14. 338/1-4;
15. XX, 1-3;
16. I, 8.
17. VI, 4-5;

types in the list of the *Purāṇa* agree completely with the list of the ten Rūpakas given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Daśarūpaka* and the *Sāhityā-darpaṇa*. Out of the remaining seventeen, fourteen agree with the fourteen out of the eighteen Uprūpakas discussed in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. The types that are common to the *Purāṇa* and the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* are Nāṭikā, Troṭaka, Saṭṭaka, Śilpaka, Durmallikā, Prasthāna, Bhāṇikā, Goṣṭhī, Hallīśaka, Ullāpaka, Preṅkhaṇa, Nāṭyarāsakam, Kāvya and Śrīgaditam. The remaining three of the *Purāṇa*, *viz*. Karṇa, Lapa and Bhāṇa are not mentioned in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, and the *Purāṇa* does not refer to the remaining four Rāsaka, Saṁlāpaka, Vilāsikā and Prakaraṇikā of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. This discepancy may be due to the fact that the Purāṇic list represents an earlier tradition of dramaturgy when different types of drāma were hurdled together. The *Sāhityadarpaṇa* represents a later phase, when the distinction between Rūpaka and Uprūpaka had become strereotyped.

93. *Plot, two Gatis* :—As for the plot, its two movements (Gati) are mentioned, *viz*. Sāmānya (general) and Viśeṣa (particular). The Sāmānya movement embraces the whole of the plot, including Rasa, Bhāva, Vibhāva, Anubhāva, Abhinaya (acting), Aṅka (Act) and Sthiti (the general tone of the drama); the Viśesa momement is confined to partieular occasions. This two-fold movement–Sāmānya and Viśeṣa, cannot be traced to the extant works on the theory of drama like the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Daśarūpaka*, which, however, mention the two divisions of plot, the main (Ādhikārika) and the subsidiary (Prāsaṅgika).[1] At first sight, one is tempted to identify the two movements (Sāmānya and Viśeṣa) of the plot with the two divisions (Ādhikārika and Prāsaṅgika). But in reality, the two seem to be different, the two movements are concerned with the general trend of drama, the general or particular process that controls the various incidents in the drama. They are like the thread running

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[1] *Nāṭ*. XXI, 2; *Daś*. I, 11;

through the general and particulor incidents. The two divisions (Ādhikārika and Prāsaṅgika plots) refer to the plot comprising incidents as such. It may be suggested that the *Purāṇa* is here following some earlier tradition when, perhaps, the other classification into Ādhikārikā and Prāsaṅgika had not yet arisen. It may be suggested that the idea of Ādhikārika and Prāsaṅgika plot may have arisen from that of the two movements (Sāmānya and Viśeṣa) as an improvement upon it.

94. *Introductories, Nāndī* :—The *Purāṇa*[1] refers to the introducteies of thirty-two kinds such as Nāndī, Mukha etc., and explains the Nāndī, which comprises either salutation to the deities by the stage-manager or panegyric to the elders and the preceptors, or benediction to the kings, Brāhmaṇas and the cows. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* includes the Nāndī in the *Pūrvaraṅga,* which is described in details. It mentions Nāndī twice during the course of the account of the *Pūrvaraṅga.* In the first mention,[2] it is defined as that which comprises the words of benediction with reference to the gods, the Brāhmaṇas and the kings. In the second mention,[3] more details about it are given. The *Sūtradhāra* (stage-managor) recites the Nāndī ccomposed in twelve or eighteen inflected words. He offers salutation to all the gods and wishes well of the Brāhmaṇas. Then he repeats certain benedictory formulae. The *Daśarūpaka* does not make any specific mention of Nāndī. It describes the procedure of the dramatic performance after the stage-manager has left the stage, having completed the preliminaries.[4] Hence the Nāndī could not find any specific mention in the work. On the other hand, the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* does not pass over the *Pūrvaraṅga,* but makes a brief reference to it.[5] Then it defines and explains the Nāndī in the manner of the *Nāṭyaśāstra.* Before the actual enactment of the

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[1] 338/8–11ff;

[2] *Nāṭ.* V. 24–25;

[3] *Ibid.* V. 106–112;

[4] *Daśarūpaka,* III, 1–4;

[5] *Sāhityadarpaṇa* II, 9.–11.

dramatic theme, the *Pūrvaraṅga* should be celebrated and then the worship of the theatre. After that, the name of the poet as also of the drama should be announced. This is called *Pūrvaraṅga,* because the actors (Kuśīlavas) perform it before (Pūrva) the commencement of the dramatic performance for warding off obstacles in the way of the dramatic show (Raṅga). Though it (*Pūrvaraṅga*) contains several elements like Pratyāhāra etc. still Nāndī should positively be performed for warding off any possible evil. It is called Nāndī as it is constituted of words of benediction. It is always employed with reference to the gods, the Brāhamaṇas and the kings. It should be indicative of auspicious things like conchshell, moon, lotus, ruddy goose and lily; and it should contain twelve or eighteen words or lines. Thus the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* has merely praphrased the description of Nāndī as given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra.* It is evident that the Nāndī was an important item in the *Pūrvaraṅga*; though other items in the days of Viśvanātha had gone out of vogue, it (Nāndī) was still retained. The reference in the *Agni-purāṇa* to thirty-two kinds of introductaries (or preliminaries) may, in all probability, indicate the various items constituting the *Pūrvaraṅga,* which the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has dealt with exhaustively.

95. *Prologue :*—The *Agni-purāṇa* describes the procedure to be adopted in drama and says that it should begin with prologue, which gives an account of the ancestry, the family and the achievements of the poet, as also the object of the play and the occasion giving rise to it. This prologue may come under the reference by the Sthāpaka to the poet, and Prastāvanā would come under the reference to the work as such.[1] That prologue where Naṭī, the wife of Sūtradhāra, and the Vidūṣaka or the attendents enter into eonversation with the Sūtradhāra on the subject in hand is called Āmukha or Prastāvanā and is classified under three classes Pravṛttaka, Kathodghāta and Prayogātiśaya.[2] Pravṛttaka is that where

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[1] *Nāṭ.* V. 168, *Daś* I. 2,

[2] *Agn.* 338/10–13;

the Sūtradhāra refers to some current topic leading to the entry of one of the characters of the drama; in Kathodghāta the Sūtradhāra in his statement gives a clue to some character in the plot, who enters the stage soon after speaking in asnwer to the words of Sūtradhāra. In Prayogātiśaya, the Sūtradhāra makes a reference to the plot and the characters come on the stage. This account of Āmukha and its elements is also in agreement with that in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*,[1] with the only difference that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* gives five *Aṅgas* of Āmukha adding two more to the three mentioned in the *Purāṇa*. On the other hand, the account in the *Daśarūpaka*[2] of Āmukha or Prastāvanā, which embodies three elements–Kathodghāta, Pravṛttaka and Prayogātiśaya, agrees completely with that occurring in the *Agni-purāṇa*. The *Daśarūpaka* and the *Agni-purāṇa* merely sum up what the *Nāṭyaśāstra* gives in great details.

96. *Plot* :—The plot (*Itivṛtta*) of drama, according to the *Agni-purāṇa*, is derived from two sources, (i) old treatises, poet's creative genius, and on this basis it is two-fold, (i) based on *Āgama* (Śuddha), and (ii) created by poet's genius (Utprekṣita).[3] The *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not mention these two divisions of the plot, but the *Daśarūpaka*[4] defines them and adds a third division called Miśra, resultant on the mixing up of the two.

97. *Five Arthaprakṛtis, Five Ceṣṭās, Five Sandhis* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* merely recounts the names of five *Arthaprakṛtis* (elements)—Bīja, Bindu, Patākā, Prakarī and Kārya[5]; the five Ceṣṭās (motions, corresponding to the five Avasthās of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Daśarūpaka*)—Prārambha, Prayatna, Prāptisadbhāva, Niyataphalaprāpti and Phalāyoga,[6] and the five Sandhis (junctures)—Mukha, Pratimukha, Garbha,

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[1] XXII, 28–30;
[2] III, 6–11;
[3] *Agn.* 338/18;
[4] I, 15–16;
[5] *Agn.* 338/19; *Nāṭ* XXI, 22; *Daś*, I, 18;
[6] *Ibid.* I, 19; *Nāṭ.* XXI, 9; *Agn.* 338/20

Vimarṣa and Nirvahaṇa.[1] All these, as is evident, entirely agree with those occurring in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Daśarūpaka*.

98. *Doṣas, Time and Place*[2] :—The Drama should be true to its aim and object. The curiosity of the spectators being excited should be satisfied as a result of the mystery of the drama being solved in proper manner. Without this a drama is not worth the name. Disclosing a thing at an improper time, making too patent what should not be so and inclusion of absurdities in the plot are some of the blemishes, which mar the charm of the drama and make it look like a mutilated person otherwise beautiful. The factors of time and place also should be taken into consideration with reference to the plot of the drama. The time and place of the occurrence of the incidents of the plot may be stated at the very outset. The scene of action should always be confined to Bhāratavarṣa[3] and the time any of the three ages-Satya, Tretā and Dvāpara. The drama should possess human interest, the joy, sorrow, struggle and suffering of human beings, though supernatural elements may also be inserted not to the detriment of the former.

99. *Characters* :—In the account of Rssa in the *Agnipurāṇa,* a passing reference is made to the characters.[4] They are described as the natural abodes of the Vibhāvas. The Nāyaka (Hero) of the drama is divided into four classes–Dhīrodātta, Dhīroddhata, Dhīralalita and Dhīraparaśānta.[5] Then the hero is again classified into four on the basis of his relationship with one Nāyikā (heroine) or more–Anukūla, Dakṣiṇa, Śaṭha, and Dhṛṣṭa. This classification is not mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*; but the *Daśarūpaka*[6] mentions all the four classes under this category, and explains the destinctive features of each one of them. Thus, in this respect, the

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1. *Ibid*. 338/21; *Daś*. I, 24; *Nāṭ*. XXI, 3;   2. *Agn*. 338/22-27;

3. *Nāṭ*. XXI, 101-102.

4. *Agn*. 339/34-41;   5. *Nāṭ*. XXXIV, 17;   6. II, 6-7;

Agni-purāṇa agrees with the *Daśarūpaka*. The three comic characters–Vidūṣaka, Pīṭhamarda, Viṭa–are the friends and helpers (Narmasaciva) of the hero, and they talk with him about love-affairs in a higher vein. They are called Anu-Nāyakas. Besides these, there are Saṁvalaka, Śrīmata and Vaihāsika. The *Nāṭyaśāstra*[1] mentions and explains the characters Viṭa and Vidūṣaka, and leaves out Pīṭhamarda, Saṁvalaka, Śrīmat and Vaihāsika, and describes instead Ceṭa and Śakāra.[2] On the other hand, the *Daśarūpaka*[3] describes Pīṭhamarda, Viṭa and Vidūṣaka, and leaves off others. A passing reference is made to the eight kinds of Nāyikās (heroines) and only four–Svakīyā, Parakīyā, Punarbhū and Sāmānyā are described. Here the mention of Punrbhū (remarried widow) is interesting and also because the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Daśarūpaka* do not refer to that Nāyikā. The *Nāṭyaśāstra*[4] also gives a list of eight *Nāyikās* but none of them occurs in the *Purāṇa*. The *Daśarūpaka*[5] classifies the Nāyikās into three, Svā, Anyā and Sādhāraṇastrī, which agree with the three-Svakīyā, Parakīyā and Sāmānyā, of the *Purāṇa*. The Punarbhū finds no mention in the *Daśarūpaka*, which gives the eight-fold classification[6] mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

100. *Aṅga-Karma, Abhinaya, (Actions and Movements)* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* mentions in two chapters[7] the natural graces of the female characters, as also the actions and the movements of varioos bodily limbs. All the points are not discussed in details but merely a reference to various technical names is made, and in a few cases, some explanation is also given. All this material is borrowed from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*[8]. At the very outset, a reference is made to twelve graces[9] due to the different parts and limbs of the body of an actor coming into play to make his emotions quite effective. They are Līlā, Vilāsa, Vicchitti, Vibhrama, Kilakiñcita, Moṭṭāyitam, Kuṭṭamita,

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1. XXXV, 55; 2. XXXV, 50; 3. II, 8–9; 4. XXIV, 203–212. 5. II, 15; 6. *Daś*. II, 23–28; 7 Chap. 341–343; 8. Chap. VIII, IX, X, XXIV; 9. *Agn*. 341/1–3.

Bibboka, Lalita, Vikṛta, Krīḍita and Keli. Out of these, only five are explained. Līlā means the imitation of the acts of a beloved person out of a diseased memory, while exhibition of some special favour is called by the learned as Vilāsam. A combination of weeping and laughter is called Kilakiñcitam, while Bibboka means a haughty indifference towards one's beloved. Lalitam means gracefulness of gait or any languid or amorous gesture. The *Nāṭyaśāstra*[1] and the *Daśarūpaka*[2] mention first ten of the twelve graces occurring in the *Purāṇa*, the remaining two Krīḍita and Keli being left out. And both the works[3] explain clearly the significance of each one of them. They describe these ten graces as natural (*Svabhāvajaḥ Bhāvaḥ*) with the ladies in the prime of their youth, and they help in the expression of the various emotions.

101. Then the various limbs (Aṅga, Pratyaṅga) of the body are described. The head, hands, breast, sides, waist and feet are called the Aṅgas, whereas the eyebrows etc. are called the Pratyaṅgas. The postures and the gestures of a character in drama should be quite natural and graceful, or the effect of the performance would be lost. After this, the *Purāṇa* recounts the graceful actions of the varius bodily limbs of an actor or an actress. All these occur in greater details in the *Nāṭyaśāstra,* the ultimate source for the Purāṇic account, but the *Daśarūpaka* does not mention them as they were perhaps, foreign to its purpose of describing the theory of drama. These actions of the various limbs may be summed up as under :—

Head :—There are thirteen actions (Karma) in the case of head *viz.* Ākampita, Kampita, Dhūta, Vidhūta, Parivāhita, Adhūta, Avadhūta, Añcita, Nikuñcita, Parivṛtta, Utkṣipta, Adhogata and Lalita[4]. This list agrees with that occurring in the *Nāṭyaśāstra,*[5] which clearly explains each one of the thirteen actions.[6]

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[1] Chap. XXIV. 12–13; [2] II, 32–33; [3] *Nāṭ.* XXIV 13–23.

[4] *Agn.* 341/7–9; *Nāṭ.* gives Lolita far *Lalita* of the *Agni.*

[5] VIII, 13–18; [6] *Nāṭ.* VIII 19–37;

Eyebrows :—There are seven actions of the eyebrows referred to in the *Purāṇa*,[1] but only four–Pātana, Bhṛkuṭīmukha, Sthāyī and Sañcārī, are actually mentioned. The *Nāṭyaśāstra*[2] mentions all the seven–Utkṣepa, Pātana, Bhrkuṭī, Caturā, Kuñcitā, Racitā, Sahajā, and explains each one clearly.[3]

Eyes :—The eyes that "speak of anguish" are assigned thirty-six actions and the eyes expressing love eight.[4] Here the *Purāṇa*, in trying to sum up the details, is responsible for some confusion, The thirty-six actions of the eye, according to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*,[5] are meant to express Rasas and Bhāvas in general and not merely the feelings of anguish. The thirty-six kinds of glances as given in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are Kāntrā, Bhayānakā, Hāsyā, Karuṇā, Adbhutā, Raudrā, Vīrā, Bībhatsā (these are Rasa-dṛṣṭis), Snigdhā, Hṛṣṭā, Dīnā, Kruddhā, Dṛptā, Bhayānvitā, Jugupsitā, Vismitā, (these are Sthayībhāva Dṛṣtis), Śūnyā, Malinā, Śrāntā, Lajjānvitā, Glānā, Śaṅkitā, Viṣannā, Mukulā, Kuñcitā, Abhitapatā, Jihmā, Śālitā, Vitarkitā, Ardhamukulā, Vibhrāntā, Viplutā, Ākekarā, Vikoṣā, Trastā and Madirā. These thirty-six glances are explained with reference to different sentiments and emotions.[6]

Tārakākarma :—The *Puraṇa* refers to nine actions of the pupils[7] (or eye-balls) and mentions only two by name *viz.* Bhramaṇa (looking askance) and Calana (rolling of the eyeball). The *Nāṭyaśāstra*[8] mentions the eight actions of the eyeball and the pupils *viz.* Bhramaṇa, Pāta, Calana, Sampraveṣaṇa, Nivartana, Samudvṛta, Niṣkrama, Prākṛta.

Nose :—The *Agni-purāṇa*[9] refers to six different actions of the nose, which are not mentioned by name, but the *Nāṭyaśāstra*[10] mentions them and explains them clearly. The six actions are Natā, Mandā, Vikṛṣṭā, Socchvāsā, Vighūrṇitā and Svābhāvikā.

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[1] 341/9;
[2] VIII, 114–115;
[3] VIII, 123;
[4] *Agn.* 341/10;
[5] VIII, 39–42.
[6] *Nāṭ.* VIII, 43–92
[7] *Agn.* 341/11;
[8] *Nāṭ.* VIII 93-94;
[9] *Agn.* 341/11;
[10] VIII, 124–130;

Respiration :—The *Purāṇa*[1] refers to nine actions of respiration, which are not mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Lower Lip (Adhara) :—The *Purāṇa*[2] refers to six actions of the lower lip but does not mention their names, which, according to the *Nāṭyāśāstra*[3] are Vivarta, Kampana, Visarga, Vinigūhana, Sandaṣṭaka and Samudgama, which also mentions actions of the upper lip (Oṣṭha).[4]

Chin :—The *Purāṇa*[5] gives seven actions of the chin, which, as explained in the *Nāṭyaśārtra*[6] are Kuṭṭamā, Khaṇḍanā, Chinnā, Cukṣitā, Lehanā, Sāmā, Daṣṭā etc.

Face :—Six different actions of the face are referred to in the *Purāṇa*,[7] which are mentioned and discussed in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*[8]. They are Vidhūta, Vinivṛtta, Nirbhagna, Bhagna Nivṛtta and Udvāhī.

Neck :—The *Purāṇa*[9] refers to the nine actions of the neck but does not name and explain them. The *Nāṭyaśāstra*[10] also gives the same number and explains them very clearly. They are Samā, Natā, Unnatā, Trastā, Recitā, Kuñcitā, Āśritā, Valitā and Nivṛttā.

Unfolded hands ;—According to the *Purāṇa*,[11] there are various actions of the hands folded or unfolded on the ground. Twenty-four actions of the unfolded arms are mentioned by name *viz*. Patāka, Tripatāka, Kartarīmukha, Ardhacandra, Utkarāla, Śukatuṇḍa, Muṣṭi, Śikhara, Kapittha, Kheṭakāmukha, Sūcyāsya, Padmakoṣa, Ahiśiraḥ Mṛgaśirska, Kāṁmūla, Kālapadma, Catura, Bhramara, Haṁsāsya, Haṁsapakṣa, Saṁdaśa, Mukula, Urṇanābha, and Tāmracūḍa. All these twenty-four occur in the same order with slight variation in the *Nāṭyaśāstra.*[1]

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[1] *Ibid* 341/11;

[2] *Ibid*. 341/12;

[3] VIII 135–136;

[4] *Nāṭ*. VIII, 136-137;

[5] *Agn*. 341/12;

[6] VIII, 141–146;

[7] *Agn*. 341/12.

[8] VIII, 147–154;

[9] *Agn*. 341/12;

[10] VIII 144–171;

[11] *Agn*. 341, 13/16;

Joined or blended hands :—Twelve actions of the joined hands are mentioned in the *Purāṇa*[2] *viz.* Añjalī, Kapota, Karkaṭa, Svastika, Kaṭaka, Vardhamāna, Asaṅga, Niṣadha, Dola, Makara, Gajadanta and Bahistambha. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra*[3] thirteen actions are given. All those mentioned in the *Purāṇa* occur in the *Nāṭyaśāstra,* which adds Puṣpapura not occurring in the Purāṇa. Then in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* Kaṭakāvardhamāna and Vardhamāna are regarded as two separate actions, whereas in the *Purāṇa* Kaṭaka and Vardhamāna are ragarded as separate actions; Kaṭakavardhamāna as one action is left out.

Breast :—The *Purāṇa*[4] refers to five actions of the breast, but they are not specifically mentioned and discussed. The *Nāṭyaśāstra*[5] mentions five actions *viz.* Ābhugna, Nirbhugna, Prakampita, Udvāhita and Sama, and explains them fully.

Belly :—The *Purāṇa*[6] gives three actions of the belly *viz.* Duratikṣama, Khaṇḍa and Pūrṇa. The *Nāṭyaśāstra*[7] also gives three postures *viz.* Kṣama, Khaṇḍa and Pūrṇa; the names in the two works are slightly different.

Sides :—Five actions of the sides are mentioned in the *Purāṇa*[8], but their specific mention is not made. The *Nāṭyaśāstra*[9] gives the names of these five actions *viz.* Nata, Samunnata, Prasārita, Vivartita and Prasṛta, and explains them clearly.

Thighs :—The *Purāṇa*[10] refers to five actions of the thighs but does not make any specific mention of them. The *Nāṭyaśāstra*[11] names the five actions as Āvaṛtita, Nata, Kṣipta, Udvāhita and Parivṛtta, and explains them clearly.

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[1] IX, 4-9; [2] 341/17-19; [3] IX, 8-10;
[4] 341/19; [5] IX, 1-10; [6] 341/20;
[7] X, 18; [8] 341/20; [9] X, 13-17;
[10] 341/20; [11] X, 34-40;

Feet :—With regard to the actions of the feet, the *Purāṇa*[1] does not mention any specific number but simply states that there is a variety of actions of the feet. But the *Nāṭyaśāstra*[2] mentions five actions *viz.* Udghātita, Sama. Agratalasañcāra, Añcita and Kuñcita, and explains them clearly.

102. Having mentioned the actions of Aṅgas and the Pratyaṅgas in the dramatic performance, the *Purāṇa*[3] sums up by remarking that the four factors *viz.* Sattva, Vāk, Aṅga and Āharaṇa play a dominant role in bringing out the best that exists in a dramatic composition and in the heart of the *dramatic personae* The Sattva or the mental element includes the act of feeling one with the character represented under a particular circumstance and evoking into mind such mental phenomena as Stambha etc. Speech or Vāk signifies the articulation and delivery of the speech of a particular role. The Āṅgika or the bodily element in a play consists of the pleasures and gestures to be assumed by an actor in a particular character; while the Āharaṇa signifies intellectual sympathy with its feelings and hence the fact of establishing complete identity with it.

103. *A Critical Esiimate, Agni-purāṇa and Nāṭyaśāstra :—* The *Agni-purāṇa* gives in brief some of the important topics connected with dramaturgy. A critical study of these topics as occurring in the *Purāṇa* reveals some important facts about the history of dramatic theory. In general, the portion on dramaturgy in the *Purāṇa* agreees closely with that occurring in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as also the *Daśarūpaka* and the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, but as the latter two works follow closely the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, they may not be considered separately. The scheme of dramaturgy adopted in the *Purāṇa* is generally in keeping with that of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* but in certain respects some important points of divergence are noticeable, which tempt one to conclude that, perhaps, as in the case of the Alaṅkāra portion, the *Purāṇa* borrows from more than one work.

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[1] 341/20.
[2] X 41-50.
[3] 342/1-2.

104. *Points of agreement* :—The *Purāṇa* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* agree with each other with regard to the following topics, (i) ten types of Rūpaka; (ii) the items like Nāndī, Āmukha, Prastāvanā etc. in the preliminaries (Pūrvaraṅga), (iii) five Arthaprakṛtis, five Avasthās known as Ceṣṭās in the *Purāṇa*, and five Sandhis, (iv) factor of place, (v) actions, and movements of various bodily limbs in dancing and acting, and (vi) characters. In most of these cases, the varses in both the *Purāṇa* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* agree in entirety with very little variation.[1] Specially, the topic of actions and movements of bodily limbs is summed up from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the brief account of the various actions is based on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* account. With regard to the characters, agreement and divergence both are noticeable. The agreement is to be noticed with regard to the classification of the heroes into four—Dhīrodātta, Dhīralalita, Dhīrapraśānta and Dhiroddhata, and that of the heroines into eight classes, and the comic characters like Vidūṣaka and Viṭa. In these cases, the verses giving definitions and classifications generally agree very closely in the two works, and one is tempted to conclude that the Purāṇic author has borrowed from the *Nāṭyaśastra*.

105. *Points of Divergence* :—But the points of divergence too between the *Purāṇa* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are not less important, which may be summed up as under :—

(i) Inclusion of the Uparūpakas as the types of Rūpaka.
(ii) Two Gatis (movements of the plot).
(iii) Sources of the plot.
(iv) Certain details about the preliminaries.
(v) Certain characters not to be found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

106. *Uparūpakas* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* gives twenty-seven varieties of Rūpaka, of which ten are the varieties of Rūpaka commonly accepted in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Daśarūpaka* and the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. Out of the remaining seventeen varieties,

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[1] See Appendix (ii)

fourteen are mentioned in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* as Uparūpakas and three do not occur there. Thus, the *Agni-purāṇa* and the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* agree as to the fourteen varieties of Uparūpakas, though the *Purāṇa* does not mention the name Uparūpaka. Hence, it may be suggested that the *Purāṇa* may have borrowed from a work in which all sorts of comic and popular shows, mimes and pantomimes were recognised as different varieties of drama.

107. *Two Gatis of Plot, Sāmānya and Viśeṣa* :—The classification of the process of development in the case of the plot into two Gatis—Sāmānya and Viśeṣa is also a unique feature of the *Purāṇa*, not to be traced to the extant works on dramatic theory. The extant works give two-fold classification of the plot, Ādhikārika and Prāsaṅgika. But this classification is based entirely on the incidents of the plot and is not directly concerned with its movement.

108. *Sources of plot* :—The *Purāṇa* gives two sources, Āgama (Religious treatises) and Śṛṣṭa (poet's creation) for the plot of drama, whereas the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Daśarūpaka* mention the two and add a third called *Miśra*.

Pūrvaraṅga :—The *Agni-purāṇa* refers to Nāndī-mukha as one of the thirty-two items in the introductories or preliminaries, which do not find any mention either in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* or in any other subsequent work. All the items described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* constituting introductories do not number thirty-two.

109. *Characters* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* mentions two classifications of the hero, one of which is mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, as has already been noticed. The other classification is based on the relationship of the hero to the heroine. According to it, there may be four types of heroes–Anukūla, Dakṣiṇa, Śaṭha and Dhṛṣṭa. This classification does not occur in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, though the *Daśarūpaka* mentions it. The comic characters Pīṭhamarda, Saṁvalaka, Śrīmat and Vaihāsika occurring in the *Purāṇa* find no mention in the

Nāṭyaśāstra, though Pīṭhamarda is mentioned in the *Daśarūpaka.* As for the classification of the heroines, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* gives eight types, and the *Daśarūpaka* gives another classification of three types in addition. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* refers to the eight-fold classification and mentions nearly four, of which three belong to the second grouping found in the *Daśarūpaka.*

110. In view of the facts stated above, it may be added that the *Agni-purāṇa* has borrowed at great length from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata as also some other works.

(iii) Prosody

111. *Prosody in Agni-purāṇa* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* describes prosody in eight chapters[1] under the title *Chandaśāra,* thus claiming to give the gist of Piṅgala's *Chandaśātra,*[2] the most authoritative treatise on Prosody. Corresponding to the eight chapters in Piṅgala's work, the *Purāṇa* dovotes eight chapters to the various topics concerning prosody. Thus the eight

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[1] Chapters. 328–335 ;

[2] Piṅgala's *Chandaśāstra* is an important work on the subject. Though regarded as one of the Vedāṅgas, it does not deal with merely Vedic metres but gives an exhaustive treatment of the classical metres as well. This work is regarded as an authoritative treatise on the subject. As for its date, its author is sometimes identified with Patañjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya.* In the Words of Keith (*Hist. of Sasns. lit. p. 8*), it may be remarked, "The aspects of his work suggest considerable age, and many of the metres, which he describes, are certainly nnt derived from the Kāvya literature which has come down to us. They suggest period of transition in which the authors of the erotic lyric were trytng experiment after experiment in metrical effect." Thus, it may be suggested that Piṅgla's work may be assigned to a period not later than the second century B. C., the probable date of the Mahābhāṣyakāra. It may be taken even to an earlier period by a century or so.

chapters of the *Purāṇa* try to summarise the eight chapters of Piṅgala's *Chandaśāstra.*[1]

112. *Eight Gaṇas :*—The *Agni-purāṇa*[2] sums up the eight Gaṇas containing three Mātrās each *viz. Ma* (– – –), *Na* (⏑ ⏑ ⏑), *Bha* (– ⏑ ⏑), *Ya* (⏑ – –), *Ja* (⏑ – ⏑), *Ra* (– ⏑ –), *Sa* (⏑ ⏑ –) and *Ta* (– – ⏑). A short vowel is technically called Laghu or *La* (⏑) and a long vowel Guru or *Ga* (—) A short vowel becomes long when it is followed by Anusvāra, Visarga or conjunct consonant. A short vowel at the end of a stanza becomes long.

Similarly the Jihvāmūliya becomes long before Upadhmānīya (letters ≍ *P* and ≍ *Ph*). The term *Vasu* in the *Chandaśāstra* indicates the number eight, *Veda* four, *Āditya* twelve etc.

113. *Vedic Metres, Gāyatrī and its varieties :*—After describing the preliminaries of prosody, the *Purāṇa*[3] gives an account of the Vedic metre Gāyatrī with its several varieties.[4] A metre with one syllable is known as Daivī Gāyatrī, with fifteen syllables Āsurī Gāyatrī and with eight syllables Prājā-

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[1] Chap. 329 corresponds with *Piṅgala* chap. II. and so on.

[2] 328/1-3, C. F. *Chan.* I, 1-8.

[3] 329/1-5;

[4] *Agn.* Chap. 329; *Chan.* chap. II. the following table will illustrate the formation of various metres clearly :—

छन्द	गायत्री	उष्णिक्	अनुष्टुप्	बृहती	पङ्क्ति	त्रिष्टुप्	जगती
साम्नी	१२	१४	१६	१८	२०	२२	२४
आर्ची	१८	२१	२४	२७	३०	३३	३६
प्राजापत्य	८	१२	१६	२०	२४	२८	३२
दैवी	१	२	३	४	५	६	७
याजुषी	६	७	८	९	१०	११	१२
आसुरी	१५	१४	१३	१२	११	१०	९
ब्राह्मी	३६	४२	४८	५४	६०	६६	७२
आर्षी (प्रा. आ. दै.)	२४	२८	३२	३६	४०	४४	४८

patya. The Gāyatrī metre in the *Yajurveda* has six syllables, in the *Sāmaveda* twelve syllables and in the *Ṛgveda* eighteen ssyllables. Then by adding two syllables to Sāman Gāyatrī, three syubles to the Ṛk Gāyatrī, four syllables to the Prājāpatya Gāyatrī, one syllable to each of the remaining two i. e. Daivī and Yājuṣī, and by reducing one syllable from Āsuri Gāyatrī six meres are got *viz.* Uṣṇik, Anuṣṭup, Bṛhatī, Paṅktī, Triṣṭup and Jagatī. Similarly, Brāhmī Gāyatrī is formed by the combination of three Yājuṣī, Sāmnī and Ārcī Gāyatrīs, and this gives rise to the six metres Uṣṇik etc. by the addition of twelve syllables successively. Ārcī is formed by the combination of three Prājāpatyas, Āsurī and Daivī Gāyatrīs, and gives rise to six metres Uṣnik etc. by the addition of four syllables successively. Thus, these combinations and permutations of the syllables allotted to the original Gāyatrī give rise to so many different metres, and these syllables in groups of three may count up to sixty-four in each quarter.

114. *Agni. Chapter 330=Piṅgala Chapter three :*—The chapter 380 of the *Agni-purāṇa* sums up the third chapter of Piṅgala and gives a detailed account of the various Vedic metres. When a quarter of a metre like Gāyatrī etc. does not have the sufficient number of syllables Eva, Uva etc. are to be added to it to complete the number. The Gāyatrī metre consists of eight syallables, Jagatī twelve, Virāṭ ten and Triṣṭup eleven.[1] These Vedic metres are also known by the number of Pāda they possess e. g. Ekapāda, Dvipāda, Catuṣpāda etc.

115. *Gāyatrī and allied metres :*—Four Pādas of eight syllables each constitute Gāyatrī metre, and sometimes it has three Pādas of 7 syllables each and is called Pādanicṛt. A Gāyatrī metre having first Pāda of six syllables, second of eight and third of seven is called Atipādanicrt. The Vardhmāṇa Gāyatrī consists of three Pādas, first of six syllables, second of seven and third of eight. The Pratiṣṭhā Gāyatrī

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1. In the Vedic metres the number of Pādas differs.

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is just the reverse of the Vardhamāna. The Nāgīgāyatrī consists of three Pādas, the first two of nine syllables each and the third of six syllables. The Vārāhī Gāyatrī is just the reverse of the Nāgī. The Tripād Virāṭ Gāyatrī is constituted of the three Pādas with eleven syllables in each.

116. *Uṣṇik* :—Two Pādas of Gāyatrī having eight syllables each and one Pāda of Jagatī constitute the Uṣṇik metre. When a Jāgata Pāda comes between the Gāyatrī Pāda, it is called Kakubuṣṇik. When the Jāgata Pāda comes first and then come the two Gāyatra Pādas, the metre is called Punaruṣṇik. When the Jāgata Pāda comes last and the two Gāyatra Pādas come first, the metre is called Paroṣṇik. A metre with four Pādas having seven syllables each is also called *Uṣṇik*.

117. *Anuṣṭup* :—A metre of four Pādas with eight syllables each is called Anuṣṭup.

118. *Bṛhatī* :—A metre with one Pāda of Jagatī and three Pādas of Gāyatrī is called Bṛhatī. If the first Jāgata Pāda is third and the remaining Gāyatra, the metre is called Pathyā Bṛhatī. If the first Jāgat Pāda is second and the remaining Gāyatra, the metre is called Nyaṅkusāriṇī Bṛhatī.[1] The Mahā Bṛhatī is constitutied of three Jāgata Pādas, and according to Ācārya Bhaṇḍila, is called Sato Bṛhatī.

119. *Paṅkti* :—When the first two Pādas in a metre are Jāgata and the remaining two are Gāyatra, the metre so formed is Paṅkti. A refereance in made to other varieties of Paṅkti without defining them *viz*. Sataḥ Paṅkti,[2] Prastāra[3] Paṅkti, Astāra[4] Paṅkti, Vistāra[5] Paṅkti, Saṁstāra Paṅkti,[6] Pathyā,[7] Akṣara[8] Paṅkti, Alpaśaḥ[9] Paṅkti, Pāda Paṅkti,[10], Pañcapāda Paṅkti.[11] etc.

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[1] After this, six Sūtras (iii. 29–34) are pased over in the *Agni-Purāṇa*

[2] *Chan*. III. 38–39;

[3] *Ibid*. III. 40;

[4] *Ibid*. III. 41

[5] *Ibid*. III. 42;

[6] *Ibid*. III. 43;

[7] *Ibid*. III. 49;

[8] *Ibid*. III. [illegible]

[9] *Ibid*. III. 45;

[10] *Ibid*. III. 46;

[11] *Ibid*. III. 46.

120. *Jagatī* :—The Jagatī metre consists of six Gāyatra Pādas. The *Purāṇa* gives four varieties of Jagatī, *viz*. Jyotiṣmatī,[1] Purstājjyoti,[2] Madhyejyoti,[3] and Uparistājjoyti.[4] The same varieties are also assigned to Triṣṭup metre by Piṅgala.

121. *Other metres* :—The *Purāṇa* mentions some other metres giving their definitions *viz*. Virāṭ, Svarāṭ, Śaṅkumatī and Kakudmatī. Śaṅkumatī metre is described as Gāyatrī with one Pāda of five syllables and three of six syllables each. In Kakudmatī metre, one Pāda is with six syllables and the others according to the different characteristics of other metres. Virāṭ metre is the name of Gāyatrī when it is less by two syllables, and when it has two syllables in excess it is called Svarāṭ.[5]

122. *Devatā, Svara, Varṇa, Gotra of the metres* :—The gods Agni, Savitā, Soma, Bṛhaspati, Mitrāvaruṇa, Indra and Viśvedevāḥ should be respectively regarded as deities presiding over the metres beginning with Gāyatrī etc. If there be some doubt abaut a particular metre, Agni may be associated with Gāyatrī, Savitā with Uṣṇik and so on. Similarly, the seven Svaras, Ṣaḍja, Ṛṣabha, Gāndhāra, Madhyama, Pañcama, Dhaivata, and Niṣāda may respectively be associated with Gāyatrī etc. The seven Varṇas (colours) assigned to the metres are respectively Sita, Sāraṅga, Piśaṅga, Kṛṣṇa, Nīla-Lohita and Gaura; and the seven Gotras (family names of the Vedic seers) are Agniveṣma, Kāśyapa, Gautama, Aṅgirasa, Bhārgava, Kauśika and Vasiṣṭha.

123. *Agni. Chapter 331 = Piṅgala chapter four, Utkṛti and other metres* :—As in Piṅgala, the topic of the metres is continued in the next chapter (331) of the *Purāṇa*. The Utkṛti metre consists of one hundred and four syllables. Some new metres are formed by subtracting four syallables each time from Utkṛti, and the metres so got may be called Abhikṛti,

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[1] *Ibid*. III. 51. [2] *Ibid*. III. 52. [3] *Ibid*. III. 53; [4] *Ibid*. III. 54; [5] *Ibid*. III. 55–60.

Saṅkṛti, Vikṛti, Ākṛti, Prakṛti and Kṛti. The metres Atidhṛti, Dhṛti, Atyaṣṭi, Aṣṭi, Atiśakvarī, Śakvarī, Atijagatī and Jagatī are also mentioned. The Vedic metres *viz.* Gāyatrī, Uṣṇik, Anuṣṭup, Bṛhatī, Paṅkti and Triṣṭup should also be considered in secular literature. By reducing one syllable from Gāyatrī each time, the metres Supratiṣṭhā, Pratiṣṭhā, Madhyā, Atyukti, Ukti etc. are got. These metres are not mentioned by Piṅgala.

124. *Secular metres* :—After the description of the Vedic metres, the *Agni-purāṇa*[1] takes up the account of the secular metres and their technique. A Pāda is the fourth part of a metrical stanza. The Gaṇas are explained as five each having four syllables. They may be arranged as (i) two Gurus[2] (ii) one Guru[3] at the end and remaining Laghu, (iii) one Guru[4] in the middle and the remaining Laghu, (iv) one[5] Guru in the beginning and remaining Laghu, (v) all the four Laghu.[6]

125. *Āryā*[7] :—One half of Āryā is constituted of seven Gaṇas and the other half is also similarly constituted, the sixth Gaṇa being Jagaṇa or Sarva *Laghu.* When the sixth Gaṇa is *Sarva Laghu,* the Pāda begins with the second syllable, and when it is *Madhya Guru* or *Sarva Laghu* and the seventh is *Sarva Laghu,* the Pāda begins with first syllable. If in the second half, the fifth Gaṇa be *Sarva Laghu,* the Pāda begins with first letter of the first half. If in the second half the sixth Gaṇa be either *Madhya-Guru* or *Sarva-Laghu,* the Lakāra (short vowel), which is an exception to it, is inserted.

126. *Ten Varieties* :—Ten varieties of Āryā are also given *viz.* Pathyā, Vipulā, Capalā, Mukhapūrvā, Jaghanapūrvā, Mahācapalā, Gīti, Upagīti, Udgīti and Āryā Gīti. Pathyā is that where a Pāda is constituted of three Gaṇas in the last half and also in the first. Vipulā is that where the Pāda does not pause in three Gaṇas in the last half or first half or both.

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[1] Chap. 331/5 ff.; [2] — —; [3] ⏑ ⏑ —; [4] ⏑ — ⏑; [5] — ⏑ ⏑;
[6] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑; [7] Agn. 331/6–11;

Capalā is that where second and forth Gaṇas are *Madhya-Guru*, first is *Anta-Guru*, the third is *Dviguru*, the fifth *Ādi-Guru* and the remaining as usual; similarly, in between two Gakāras (Guru), the second and fourth Gaṇas would be Jakāra (Jagaṇa). Mukhapūrvā is that where in the first half there are the characteristics of Capalā. In Jaghanapūrvā, in the second half there are the characteristics of Capalā. In Mahācapalā, both the halves have the characteristics of Capalā. The Gīti is that where first half is similar; Upgīti is that where the second half is similar. In Udgīti, the order mentioned before is reversed. i. e. the first half becomes the second and *vice-versa*. Āryāgīti[1] is that when the first half is constituted of eight Gaṇas.

127. *Vaitālīya and its six varieties*:—In Vaitālīya metre in the first and third quarters (Pāda), there are two Svaras, fourteen Lakāras (one Mātrā syllables) and in the second and fourth, there are sixteen Lakāras, and in those Lakāras at the end of both the Pādas there should be *Refa, Ga, La*. It becomes Aupacchandasakam, when at the end of it, there is *Gakāra* in excess. The *Purāṇa* gives *Gopuccham* instead of *Aupacchandasakam*, which is obviously an incorrect reading.[2] It becomes Pāṭalikā, when in addition to its original eharacteristics already mentioned, it has Bhakāra (Bhagaṇa) and two Gakāras (Gura). It becomes Prācyavṛtti, when in the second and fourth Pādas, the first *Lakāra* gets mixed up with the fifth. If in the first and third Pādas, first Lakāra gets mixed up with the third Lakāra, it becomes Udīcyavṛtti. When in second and fourth quarters, the fifth *Lakāra* gets mixed up with the sixth, and when in the first and the third Pādas, the second gets mixed up with the third, it becomes Pravartaka. When all the Pādas possess the characteristics of *Ayuk* (first and third letters) i. e. fourteen syllabic instants and the com-

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[1] *Agn.* (331/11) gives *Ṛkṣa Gaṇa* instead of *Vasugaṇa* of Piṅgala's *Chandaśāstra* (IV. 31).

[2] 331/12;

bination of the first with the third, it becomes Cāruhāsinī. When all the four Pādas possess the characteristics of *Yug* (second and fourth letters) it becomes Antikā.

128. *Mātrāsamaka and its five varieties :*—Mātrāsamaka is that metre where in a quarter there are sixteen *Lakāras* (one Mātrā syllable) ending in *G* (Guru) and at the end one of the two is made Guru and the ninth is *Lakāra.* Here the *Purāṇa*[1] gives *Saptārcirvasavaḥ* instead of *Gantādvirvasayo* of Piṅgala.[2] When in a quarter, there are twelve *Lakāras* and the ninth also retains its own form (short), it is called Vanavāsikā. When in the four quarters, the fifth and ninth are *Lakāra* and the remaining as laid down, it is called Viślokā. In Citrā, the ninth Lakāra is retained and also the fifth and eighth. When the ninth gets mixed up with the tenth which is connected with the other Pāda, it becomes Upacitrā. It becomes Pādākulakā when any four quarters are taken from the previous five matres (Mātrāsamaka, Vanavāsikā, Viślokā, Citrā and Upcitrā) and in a quarter there are sixteen Mātrās (Lakāra) and the ninth is Laghu.

129. *Sikhā and its two varieties :*—When ihe two halves of the Gītyāryā are reversed i. e. one half is all Laghu and the other half is all Guru, the metre is called Śikhā. When the first half being all Laghu has thity-two Lakāras and the second half beisg all Guru has sixteen Gakāras, then it is called Jyotiśikhā. When the first half of Śikhā being *Sarvaguru* has sixteen *Gakāras* and the second being all Laghu has thirty-two *Lakāras*, then it is called Saumya Śikhā.

Tūlikā—Tūlikā metre is that where in the first half there are twenty-nine *Lakāras* and in the second half thirty-one and at the end one Guru takes the place of the two *Lakāras*.

130. After describing these metres, the *Chandaśāstra* of Piṅgala gives the method of asertaining the nnmber of Guru and Laghu syllabic instants *viz.* the number of syllables should

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[1] 331/16; [2] *Chan.* IV, 421.

be deducted from the number of Mātrās, the remainder would be Gurus, and the number of Gurus should be subtracted from the total number of Mātrā, the remaining would be Laghus.[1] In the *Purāṇa*[2] some confusion seems to have been created in mentioning the Sūtra, which in retained possibly is a mutilated form.

131. *Agni-chapter 332 = Piṅgala chapter V, Sūtras 1–30, Vṛttas, Sama, Ardhsama and Viṣama of Piṅgala-śāstra :*—The chapter 332 in the *Purāṇa* sums up the first thirty Sūtras of the fifth chapter of Piṅgala's work dealing with Viṣamavṛtta. The Vṛtta, which is a technical name for the metres of classical Sanskrit, is divided into three classes *viz.* Sama, where all the four quarters have the same characteristics, Ardhasama, where two halves are equal in all respects, and Viṣama where the two halves are not equal. After describing these preliminaries, the Purāṇa goes on to describe various metres.

Samānī :—The Vṛtta ending in Gakāra and Lakāra is called Samānī.

Pramāṇī :—The Vṛtta eding in Lakāra and Gakāra is called Pramāṇī.

Vitāna :—The Vitāna Vṛtta is a metre of eight syllables, different from the two mentioned above.

132. *Vakra and its three Varities ;*—The Vakra metre is formed by adding four Akṣaras (syllables) before each of the Pāda of Anuṣṭup. In it, after the first syllable of a Pāda there should not be Sagaṇa and Nagaṇa, and in the second and fourth Pādas, there should not be refa after the first syllable. And of the other six Gaṇas, if there be any other Gaṇa, it should come after the first syllable; Yagaṇa should come after the fourth syllable of a quarter. When in the second and fourth quarters of Vakra there is Jagaṇa after the fourth syllable, it is called Pathyā Vakra. According to some authority, the characteristics of Pathyā are just the reverse of those stated

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[1] *Chan.* IV, 53; [2] *Agn.* 331/19.

above (i. e. in the first and third quarters Jagaṇa should come after the fourth syllable). When in the first and third quarters after the fourth syllable there ie Nagaṇa, it is called Capalā. When Yagaṇa is every-where in the second, and fourth quarters and the seventh syllable is Laghu, it is called Vipulā. According to Saitavācārya,[1] in all the four quarters, the seventh syllable should be Laghu. Here the *Purāṇa* has created some confusion. Instead of reproducing the *Sūtra 'Sarvataḥ Saitavasya,* correctly, the *Agni-purāṇa* gives for it the reading *Sarvaṁ tasyaiva tasyaca.*[2] Obviously this is the mistake of some scribes or editors of old. When in the first and third quarters after the fourth syllable instead of Yagaṇa there is either Bhagaṇa or Nagaṇa or Tagaṇa, the metre is called Vipulā.

Pādacaturūrdhvam :—When four syllables are added after each of the Pādas, the metre so got is called Pādacaturūrdhvam. When at the end of the Pādas of this metre, there are two Gakāras, then it is called Āpīḍa Pādacaturūrdhvam, and when two Gakāras are at the beginning of its Pādas, it is called Pratyāpīḍapādacaturūrdhvam. When both at the end and beginning of its four Pādas, there are two Gakāras, then too the metre is called Pratyāpīḍapādacaturūdhvam. When the first part is interchanged for the second, it is called Mañjarī, for the third Lavaṇī and for the fourth Amṛtadhārā.

Udgata :—When the first quarter has ten syllables Sa, Ja, Sa, La, the second also ten syllables Na, Sa, Ja, Ga, the third eleven syllables, Bha, Na, Ja, La, and the fourth thirteen syllables Sa, Ja, Sa, Ja, Ga, the metre is called Udgata.[3]

Saurabha :—When in Udgata, the third Pāda has ten syllables Ra, Na, Bha, Ga, the metre is called Saurabha.

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[1] *Chan.* V, 18

[2] *Agn.* 332/4;

[3] ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑
⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ – ⏑, –
– ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑
⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ – ⏑, –.

Lalita :—When in Udgata in the third quarter, there are two Nas, two Sas, the metre is called Lalita.

Upasthita Pracupita :—When the first quarter has Ma, Sa, Ja, Bha, Ga, the second has Sa, Na, Ja, Ra, Ga, the third has two Nas, Sa, and the fourth has three Nas, Ja. two Yas, the metre is called Upasthita Pracupita.

Vardhamāna :—In Upasthita Pracupita, when in the third quarter, there are two Nas, Sa, two Nas, again Na, two Sas, the metre is called Vardhamāna.

Śuddhavirāḍarṣabha :—When in Upasthita Pracupita, the third quarter has Ta, Ja, Ra, the metre is called Śuddhavirāḍarṣabha.

Agni chapter 333 = Piṅgala chapter V, Sūtras 31–44 :—The *Purāṇa,* in the chapter 333 discusses the remaining fourteen Sūtras of the fifth chapter of Piṅgla's[1] work dealing with Ardhasamavṛtta. The chapter in the *Purāṇa* is also named *Ardhasamavṛtta-nirūpaṇam.* The following metres belonging to the Ardhasamavṛtta category are described in the *Purāṇa.*

Upacitraka :—When the first part has three Sas, La, two Gas, the second has three Bhas, two Gas, and the third and the fourth quarters are like the first and the second, the metre is called Upacitraka.

Drutamadhyā :—When the first quarter has three Gas, the second has Na, two Jas, Ja, two Yas, and the third and fourth are like first and second respectively, the metre is called Drutamadhyā.

Vegavatī :—When the first part has three Sas, Ga, the second has three Bhas, two Gas, the metre is called Vegavatī.

Bhadravirāṭ[2] :—When the first part has Ta, two Jas, Ra, two Gas, the second has Ma, Sa, Ja, two Gas, the metre is called Bhadravirāṭ.

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[1] V, 31–44;

[2] *Agn.* 332/2 (*Bibliotheca Indica* edition) has the reading Rudravistāra.

Ketumatī :—When the first part has Sa, two Jas, Sa, two Gas, and the second has Bha, Ra, Na, two Gas, the metre is called Ketumatī.

Ākhyānikī :—When the first part has two Tas, Ja, two Gas, the second has Ja, two Tas, Ja, two Gas, the metre is called Ākhyānikī.

Viparītākhyānikī :—When the first Pāda has Ja, two Tas, two Gas, the second has two Tas, Ja, two Gas, the metre is called Viparītākhyānikī.

Hariṇaplutā :—When the first Pāda has three Sas, La, Ga, and the second has Na, two Bhas, Bha, two Ras, the metre is called Hariṇaplutā. The *Purāṇa*[1] calls it Hariṇavallabha, which seems to be an incorrect reading.

Aparavakra[2] :—When the first Pāda has two Nas, Na, Ra, La, Ga, and the second has Na, two Jas, Ja, two Ras, the metre is called Aparavakra.

Puṣpitāgrā[3] :—When the first has Ra, two Yas, and the second has Na, two Jas, two Ras, the metre is called Puṣpitārgā.

Yavamatī[4] :—When the first Pāda has Ra, two Jas, Ra, and the second has Ja, two Ras, Ja, two Ras, Ga, the metre is called Yavamatī.

Śikhā :—When the first quarter has twenty-nine syllables, the second thirty-one and at the end of each of the first two Pādas there is Guru, the remaining half (the third and fourth Pādas) also being similar, the metre is called Śikhā.

Khañjā :—When the Śikhā has thirty-one syllables in each of the first and third Pādas and thirty-nine syllables in the second and fourth, it is called Khañjā.

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[1] 333/4;

[2] The readiag in the *Agn* 332/5 (*Bibliothela Indica edt.*) is Aparakramam.

[3] Puṣpitā in the *Agn.* 332/5, (*Biblio. Ind.*).

[4] Paṇamatī in the *Agn.* 332/6. (*Bibliotheca Indica*).

133. *Agni, chapter 334 = Piṅgala chapter VI and VII and VIII, Sūtras. 1–19* -—The chapter three hundred and thirty-four sums up the Samavṛttas given by Piṅgala in the VI, VII and the first 19 Sūtras of the VIII chapter of his work. The account begins with the definition of Yati or Cæsuri, where the recital of the quarter is broken and a sort of metrical pause or rest is effected, and then the following Samavṛtta metres with Yati are described.

Tanumadhyā :—When a quarter has Ta and two Yas, the metre is called Tanumadhyā. Here the pause (Yati) is laid down at the end of a Pāda.

Kumāralalitā :—When a quarter has Ja, two Sas, and Ga, the metre is called Kumāralalitā and the Yati occurs at the end of every three and four syllables, according to others it should be after every two and five syllables.

Māṇavakakrīḍitaka :—When a quarter has Bha, Ta, La, two Gas, the metre is called Māṇavakakrīḍitaka, and the Yati comes after four syllables.

Citrapadā :—When a quarter has two Bhas, two Gas, the metre is called Citrapadā.

Vidyunmālā :—When a Pāda has two Mas and two Gas, the metre is called Vidyunmālā There is Yati after every four syllables.

Bhujaṅgaśiśusṛta :—When a quarter has two Nas, Ma, the metre is called Bhujaṅgaśiśusṛta, the Yati comes after every seven syllables, and two syllables.

Haṁsaruta :—When a quarter has Ma, two Nas, two Gas, the metre is called Haṁsaruta.[1]

Halīmukhī :—When a quarter has Ra, Na, Sa, the metre is called Halīmukhī, the Yati comes after every three and six syllables.

Śuddhavirāṭ :—When a Pāda has Ma, Sa, Ja, Ga, the metre is called Śuddhavirāṭ, the Yati comes at the end of a Pāda.

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[1] *Uparisthita* in *Agn.* 33[illegible]/4 (*Bibliotheca Indica*).

Paṇava :—When a Pāda has Ma, Na, Ya, Ga, the metre is called Paṇava. The Yati comes after every five syllables.

Mayurasāriṇī :—When a quarter has Ra, two Jas, two Gas, the metre is called Mayūrasāriṇī.

Mattā :—When a metre has Ma, Bha, Sa, Ga, the metre is called Mattā. The Yati comes after every four and six syallables.

Upasthitā[1] ;—When a quarter has Ta, two Jas, two Gas, the metre is called Upasthitā. The Yati comes after every two and eight syllables.

Rukmavatī :—When a quarter has Bha, Ma, Sa, Ga, the metre is called Rukmavatī.

Indravajrā :—When a quarter has two Tas, Ja, two Gas, the metre is called Indravajrā, the Yati comes at the end of a Pāda.

Upendravajrā :—When a Pāda has Ja, Ta, two Gas, the metre is called Upendravajrā. The Yati comes at the end of a Pāda. When the Pādas of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā come alternately at the beginniug and at the end, the metre so formed is called Upajāti. It has fourteen varieties.

Dodhaka :—When a quarter has three Bhas, two Gas, the metre is called Dodhaka. The Yati comes at the end of a quarter.

Śālinī :—When a Pāda has Ma, Ta, Ta, two Gas, then the metre is called Śālinī. The Yati comes after four and seven syllables.

Vātormī :—When a Pāda has Ma, Bha, Ta, two Gas, the metre is called Vātormī. The Yati comes after four and seven syllables.

Bhramaravilasita :—When a quarter has Ma, Bha, Na. La, Ga, the metre is called Bhramarvilasita. The Yati comes after four and seven syllables.

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[1] The *Ānandāśrama* edition of the *Agn.* (334/3) has given the reading *Mohaṁ Sarutaṁ.* The *Bibliotheca Indica* edition (333/3) gives the reading *Mehanaṁ Marutaṁ.* The correct reading in Pingala is *Haṁsarutaṁ.*

Rathoddhatā :—When a quarter has Ra, Na, Ga, La, Ga, the metre is called Rathoddhatā. The Yati comes at tha end of a Pāda.

Svagatā :—When a quarter has Ra. Na, Bha, two Gas, the metre is called Svagatā. The Yati comes at the end of a Pāda.

Vṛttā :—When a quarter has two Nas, Sa, two Gas, the metre is called Vṛttā. The Yati comes after four and seven syllables.

Syenī :—When a metre has Ra, Ja, Ra, La, Ga, the metre is called Syenī. The Yati comes at the end of a quarter.

The following metres belong to the Jagatī category.

Vaṁśasthā :—When a quarter has Ja, Ta, Ja, Ra, the metre is called Vaṁśathā. The Yati comes at the end of a Pāda.

Indravaṁśā :—When a quarter has two Tas, Ja, Ra, the metre is called Indravaṁśā. The Yati comes at the end of a quarter.

Toṭaka :—When a quarter has many Sas, as in the part of Jagatī metre, the metre is called Toṭaka. The Yati comes at the end of a Pāda.

Drutavilambita :—When a quarter has Na, Bha, Bha, Ra, the metre is called Drutavilambita.

Śrīpuṭha :—When a quarter has two Nas, Ma, Ya, the metre is called Śrīpuṭhaṁ. The Yati comes after eight and four syllables.

Jaloddhatagati :—When a Pāda has Ja, Sa, Ja, the metre ie called Jaloddhatagati. The Yati comes after every six syllables.

Tatam :—When a quarter has two Nas, Ma, Ra, the metre is called Tatam.

Kusumavicitrā :—When a quarter has Na, Ya, Na, Ya, the metre is called Kusumavicitrā.

Cañcalākṣikā[1] :—When a Pāda has two Nas and two Ras, the metre is called Cañcalākṣikā.

Bhujaṅgaprayāta :—When a quarter has four Yas, the metre is called Bhujaṅgaprayāta. The Yati comes at the end of a Pāda.

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[1] *Cañcalāmbikā* in certain *Mss.* of the *Agnipurāṇa*.

Śragvinī :—When a quarter has four Ras, the metre is called Śragvinī.

Pramitākṣarā :—When a quarter has Sa, Ja, two Sas, the metre is called Pramitākṣarā, the Yati comes at the end of a Pāda.

Kāntotpīḍā :—When a quarter has Bha, Ma, Sa, Ma, the metre is called Kāntotpīḍā.

Vaiśvadevī :—When a metre has two Mas, two Gas, the metre is called Vaiśvadevī. The Yati comes after five and seven syllables.

Navamālinī :—When a quarter has Na, Ja, Bha, Ya, the metre is called Navamālinī. The Yati comes after eight and four syllables.

131. Here the seventh chapter ends in Piṅgala's work and the eighth begins, which describes the metres based on the varieties of the seven Vedic metres Atijagatī, Śakvarī, Atiśakvarī, Aṣṭi, Atyaṣṭi, Dhṛti and Atidhṛti. The varities are got by the addition of one syllable to every line. The following metres are based on the Vedic metre Atijagatī.

Praharṣiṇī :—When a quarter has Ma, Ja, Na, Ra, Ga, the meres is called Praharṣiṇī. The Yati comes after three and ten syllables.

Rucira :—When a quarter has Ja, Bha, Sa, Ja, Ga, the metre is called Rucirā. The Yati comes after four and nine syllables.

Mattamayūra :—When a quarter has Ma, Sa, Ya, Sa, Ga, the metre is called Mattamayūra. The Yati comes after four and nine syllables.

Gaurī :—When a quarter has three Nas, Sa, Ga, the metre is called Gaurī.

The following metres are based on the Vedic metre Śakvarī.

Asambādhā :—When a quarter has Ma, Ta, Na, Sa, two Gas, the metre is called Asambādhā. The Yati comes after five and nine syllables.

Aparājitā :—When a quarter has two Nas, Na, Sa, La, Ga, the metre is called Aparājitā. The Yati comes after every seven syllables.

Praharaṇakalitā :—When a quarter has two Nas, Bha, La, Na, La, Ga, the metre is called Praharaṇakalitā. The Yati comes after every seven syllables.

Vasantatilakā :—When a qurter has Ta, Bha, two Jas, two Gas, the metre is called Vasantatilakā. The Yati comes at the end of a Pāda. According to Saitavācārya, it is called Uddharṣiṇī.

The following metres are based on the Vedic metre Atiśakvarī.

Candrāvartta :—When a quarter has four Nas, Sa, the metre is called Candrāvartta. The Yati comes after seven and eight syllables.

Mālā :—The Candrāvartta metre becomes Mālā, when Yati comes after six and nine syllables.

Maṇiguṇanikara :—The same Candrāvartta becomes Maṇiguṇanikara, when the Yati comes after eight and seven syllables.

Mālinī :—When a quarter has two Nas, Ma, Ya, Ya, the metre is called Mālinī. The Yati comes after eight and seven syllables.

The following metres are based on the Vedic metre Aṣṭi.

Ṛṣabhagajavilasita :—When a quarter has Bha, Na, three Nas, Ga, the metre is called Ṛṣabhagajavilasita. The Yati comes after seven and nine syllables.

The following metres are based on the Vedic metre Atyaṣṭi.

Śikhariṇī :—When a quarter has Ya, Ma, Na, Sa, Bha, La, Ga, the metre is called Śikhariṇī. The Yati comes after six and eleven syllables.

Pṛthvī :—When a quarter has Ja, Sa, Ja, Sa, Ya, La, Ga, the metre is called Pṛthvī. The Yati comes after eight and nine syllables.

Vaṁśapatrapatita :—When aquarter has Bha, Ra, Na, Bha, Na, La, Ga, the metre is called Vaṁśapatrapatita. The Yati comes after ten and seven syllables.

Hariṇī :—When a quarter has Na, Sa, Ra, Sa, La, Ga, the metre is called Hariṇī. The Yati comes after six, four and seven syllables.

Mandākrāntā :—When a quarter has Na, Bha, Na, two Tas, two Gas; the metre is called Mandākrāntā.

The following metre is based on the Vedic metre Dhṛti.

Kusumitalatāvellitā :—When a quarter has Ma, Ta, Na, Ya, two Yas, the metre is called Kusumitalatāvellitā. The Yati comes after five, six and seven syllables.

The following metre is based on the Vedic metre Atidhṛti.

Śārdūlavikrīḍita :—When a quarter has Ma, Sa, Ja, Sa, two Tas, Ga, the metre is called Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The Yati comes after twelve and seven syllables.

The following metres are based on the Vedic mētre Kṛti.

Suvadanā :—When a quarter has Ma, Ra, Bha, Na, Ya, Ma, La, Ga, the metre is aalled Suvadanā. The Yati comes after seven, again seven and six syllables.

Vṛttam :—When a quarter has Ga and La, following in a series of twenty syllables, the metre is called Vṛttam. The Yati comes at the end of a Pāda.

The following metre is based on the Vedic metre Prakṛti.

Sragdharā :—When a qaurter has Ma, Ra, Na, Bha and three Yas, the metre is called Sragdharā. The Yati comes after seven and again seven syllables.

The following metre is based on the Vedic metre Ākṛti.

Bhadraka[1] :—When a quarter has Bha, Ra, Na, and again Na, Ra, the metre is called Bhadraka also known as Madraka. The Yati comes after ten and twelve syllables.

The following metres are based on the Vedic metre Vikṛti.

Aśvalalita :—When a quarter has Na, Ja, Bha. Ja, again Bha, Ja, Bha, La, Ga, the metre is called Aśvalalita. The Yati comes after eleven and twelve syllables.

Mattākrīḍā :—When a qurater has two Mas, Ta, four Nas, La, Ga, the metre is called Mattākrīḍā.

The following metre is based on the Vedic metre Saṅkṛti.

Tanvī :—When a quarter has Bha, Ta, Na, Sa, two Bhas, Na, Ya, the metre is called Tanvī. The Yati comes after five, seven and twelve syllables,

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[1] Samudr-kam according to the *Agn.* 334/25 (*Bibbiothca Indica* edn.)

The following metre is based on the Vedic metre Abhikṛti.

Krauñcapadā :—When a quarter has Bha, Na, Sa, Bha, four Nas, Ga, the metre is called Karauñcapadā. The Yati comes after five, eight and seven syllables.

The following metres are based on the Vedic metre Utkṛti.

Bhujaṅgavijṛmbhita :—When a quarter has two Mas, Ta, Na, two Nas, Ra, Sa, Ka, Ga, the metre is called Bhujaṅgavijṛmbhita. The Yati comes after eight, ten and seven syllables.

Apavāhaka[1] :—When a quarter has Ma, six Nas, Sa, two Gas, the metre is called Apavāhaka. The Yati comes after nine six, six, and five syllables.

Here ends the account of the metres based on the various Kṛtis, and that of the varieties of Daṇḍaka metre begins.

132. *Daṇḍaka*[2] *and its varieties* :—When a quarter has two Nas and seven Ras, the metre is called Daṇḍaka. The Yati comes at the end of a Pāda. This metre has twenty-seven syllables. By adding one syllable to each line different varieties of Daṇḍaka are got. The first Daṇḍaka with a quarter of twenty-seven syllables is called Caṇḍavṛṣṭiprapāta. The remaining varieties are known as Pracitā and are got by adding one Ra each time to the original Daṇḍaka.

133. *Agni, chapter 335 = Piṅgala chapter VIII, Sūtras 20–34*-The *Purāṇa* in the chapter 335 tries to give the Prastāra (tabular representation of long and short vowels of a metre with all possible varieties) of Gāthā and other metres and in this connection refers to the first[3] and the last[4] Sūtras of Piṅgala's work bearing on the topic of Prastāra, According to the *Purāṇa*[5], the metres not belonging to any of the groups mentioned in the preceding chapters are called Gāthā, where the number of syllables in different quarters is not the same. Even the quarters may number other than four. The metres may belong to the category Ardhasamavṛtta or Viṣamavṛtta. A

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[1] *Upahārākahya* according to *Agn.* 334/28 (*Bib. Indica*)

[2] *Agn.* 333/29 (*Bib. Ind*)

[3] *Chand, VIII,* 20;

[4] *Ibid*; VIII, 34;

[5] 335 1-4.

quarter may have all long vowels. As for the Prastāra, the first quarter may have all Gas followed by Gas. In Ardhasamagāthā, first and third quarters should comprise long syllables, or in a metre of nineteen syllables of this class the order might be inverted, the quarters being made to commence with La. Other metres of this class, e. g. Udgāthā, Saurabhaka, Lalita etc., may be the referred to.

134. *A critical estimate :*—Thus the portion of the *Agni-purāṇa* dealing with the matres is rightly called *Chandaṣāra*, as the author of the *Purāṇa* has literally summarised chapter by chapter the contents of the *Chandaśāstra* by Piṅgala. Like Piṅgalā's work, the *Purāṇa* has devoted five chapters to the description of the post–Vedic metres. The Purāṇic author has generally put the various Sūtras in the Śloka form and prepared a sort of versified compandium of Piṅgala's Sūtras. In doing so several descrepancies have crept into it, e. g. defective readings, some change in the order of the metres, some metres being overlooked etc. The *Piṅgala Sūtras*, as occurring in the *Purāṇa*, are thus preserved in a very defective form, and without the help of Piṅgala's work, it would be impossible to get at the correct reading. The text as preserved in the *Ānandāśarama* and *Bibliotheca Indica* editions of the *Agni-purāna* are defective as they preserve some incorrect readings.

(IV) PHONETICS AND GRAMMAR

135. *The Agni-purāṇa, Śikṣā, Number and classification of verses :*—The *Agni-purāṇa* devotes one chapter[1] to the account of Śikṣā. In about twenty-two verses, the account of Śikṣā has been summed up. The account begins with an enumeration of total number of letters, which is either sixty-three or sixty-four. They are classified[2] as (i) Svara (vowels) twenty-one in number-A, I, U, Ṛ, Lṛ, E, O, Am; (ii) Sparśa (consonants)—twenty-five in number, *Ku, Cu, Ṭu, Tu, Pu,* (iii) Yādi–(semivowels and sibilants), eight in number; (iv) Yaṇ–four in number; (v) Anus-

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[1] Chapter 336

[2] *Agn.* 335/1–3.

vāra and Visarga like ᳵK, ᳵP known as *Parāśrita* in pronunciation; (vi) Lṛkāra, which is known to be Duḥspṛṣṭa.

136. *Sound, its origin* :—The Ātmā (soul) contacting Buddhi (intellect) joins the mind with a desire to speak. The mind in its turn impels the bodily fire, which urges the air to motion. And the air moving in the heart produces a sound called *Mandra* befitting the Gāyatrī metre recited at the morning ablution; the air moving in the throat produces *Madhyama* sound appropriate for the Triṣṭubh metre to be recited on the occasion of mid-day ablution, and the air reaching the head produces the sound known as *Tāra* fit for reciting the Jagatī metre on the occasion of the third (or evening) ablution. The same air moving upwards and striking against the head reaches the mouth and produces the Varṇas (letters). The letters are divided into five classes in respect of sound, time, *Sthāna* (place of pronunciation), *Prayatna* (effort) and *Arthapradānatā* (significance). There are eight *Sthānas* (places) of pronunciation *viz*. *Uraḥ* (chest), *Kaṇṭha* (throat), *Śiraḥ* (*head*), *Jihvāmūla* (the root of the tongue), *Danta* (teeth), *Nāsikā* (nose), *Oṣṭha* (upper lip) and *Tālu*[1] (palate),

137. *Letters, their Sthānas of pronunciation* :–The Anusvāra, Visarga, sibilants (*ś, ṣ, s,*), Jihvāmūla (ᳵK), Upadhmā (ᳵp), all these Uṣman letters have eight different places of pronuaciation.[2] The Svaras (vowels) are classified into three, Udātta, Anudātta and Svarita; they are divided into Hrasva, Dīrgha and Pluta in respect of time required for their pronunciation. The letters and their *Sthāna*s (places of pronunciation) may be arranged as under :—

(i) *A, Ku, (K, Kh, G, Gh, Ṅ),* H—*Kaṇṭha.*
(ii) *I, Cu (C, Ch, J, Jh, Ñ) Y,* Ś--*Tālu.*
(iii) *U, Pu, (P, Ph, B, Bh, M)* Upadhmā (ᳵp)—*Oṣṭha.*
(iv) *Ṛ, Ṭu (Ṭ, Ṭh, Ḍ, Ḍh, Ṇ), R, Ṣ.* —*Mūrdhā.*
(v) *Lṛ, Tu (T, Th, D, Dh, N) L, S.* —*Danta*

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[1] *Ibid* 336/4–9

[2] Ibid 336/10,

(vi) *Hvaḥ* —*Jihvāmūla*
(vii) *Vaḥ.* —*Dantoṣṭha.*
(viii) *E, Ai.* —*Kaṇṭhatālu.*
(ix) *O, Au.* —*Kaṇṭhoṣṭha.*[1]

138. These letters are mentioned in Pratyāhāras after the manner of Pāṇini. With reference to the effort of the tongue in pronouncing, the letters of the *Ac* Pratyāhāra *(A, I, U, Ṛ,* Lṛ, *E, O, Ai, Au),* that is, all the vowels, are called *Aspṛṣṭa* (untouched), because in pronouncing them the tongue does not touch any part of the vocal organ. The letters of the *Yaṇ* Pratyāhāra *(Y, V, R, L)* i. e. semi-vowels, are called *Iṣatspṛṣṭa* (partially touched), because in pronouncing them, the tongue partially touches the vocal organ. The letters of the *Śal* Pratyāhāra (Ś, Ṣ, S, H), i. e. the sibiliants and the aspirate, are called *Spṛṣṭa* (touched), as in pronouncing them the tongue touches some part or other of the vocal organ. The remaining letters of the *Hal Pratyāhāra* (letters of *Kavarga, Cavarga, Ṭavarga, Tavarga* and *Pavarga)* are called *Spṛṣṭa* (touched), as in pronouncing them, the tongue touches some part of the vocal organ.[2]

139. These phonetic rules are expected to be observed to avoid the sin accruing from the defective pronunciation of letters. A person, observing these rules properly and pronouncing the letters in accordance with these rules, enjoys life in heaven. The letters of harsh and grating sound should be avoided in a speech, which should be uttered in a distinct voice, carefully avoiding the nasal as well as a large concourse of broken or labial sounds. Only such letters, as are not indistinct or not in any way hampered in articulation, should be made use of in a speech, and such a speaker is sure to be glorified in heaven. Brahmā himself resides in the mouth that pronounces the letters nicely and correctly.[3]

140. *Śikṣā, Agni-purāṇa and Pāṇini compared :*—The twenty-two verses on Śikṣā as embodied in the *Agni-purāṇa* are

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[1] *Ibid.* 336/16-19; [2] 336/20-22; [3] *Ibid.* 336/13-16.

all drawn from the Śikṣā, that goes by the name of Pāṇini, though some of the verses in the *Purāṇa* are in a mutilated form having in some cases even incorrect reading. A comparative study of the two works reveals the fact that the *Purāṇa* tries to summarise the Śikṣā of Pāṇini (containing sixty verses) in twenty-two verses, taken, more or less, *verbatim* from Pāṇini. The following analysis will clearly explain the point.

141. *Analysis* :—The first two verses of Pāṇini describing the Śikṣā as pertaining to Pāṇini are not to be found in the *Purāṇa*. The first eight verses in the *Purāṇa* agree with the verses 3–10 of Pāṇini. The verses 9 to 11 in the *Purāṇa* are the same with slight variation as verses 13, 14, 15 of Pāṇini. The verses 12 and 13 in the *Purāṇa* correspond with the verses 50 and 51 of Pāṇini. The verse 14 in the *Purāṇa* does not occur in Pāṇini. First line of the verse 15 in the *Purāṇa* corresponds with the first line of the verse 25 of Pāṇini. The second line in verse 16 and the first line in verse 17 in the *Purāṇa* correspond with verse 11 of Pāṇini. Other parallels of similar nature may be summed up as under :—

	Agni-purāṇa	*Pāṇini-Śikṣā.*
(i)	Verse 17, second line Verse 18, first line	—verse 17.
(ii)	Verse 18, second line Verse 19, first line	—verse 18.
(iii)	Verse 19, second line	—verse 10, first line
(iv)	Verse 20, first line	—verse 22, second line
(v)	Verse 20, second line	—verse 38, first line
(vi)	Verse 21,	—verse 38
(vii)	Verse 22,	—verse 39, second line -and verse 40, first line.

142. *Grammar in Agni-purāṇa* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* devotes eleven chapters[1] to the account of the grammar. The Vyaṅ-

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[1] Chap. 349–359. M. N. Dutt's *English Translation* of the *Agn.* does not contain the eleven chapters on grammar.

kaṭeṛvara edition of the *Agni-purāṇa* gives the title *Kaumāra Vyākarṇa* to the portion on grammar and in the colophon of the chapters also the words *Kaumāravyākaraṇa-śāstra* occur invariably. But the *Ānandāśrama* edition of the *Purāṇa* dropping the title *Kaumāravyākarṇa* gives the title *Vyākaraṇa-sāra* to the account of the grammar and the colophons of the various chapters bear the words *Vyākaraṇa-sāravarṇanaṁ*. Thus, it may easily be inferred that the *Purāṇakāra* tries to sum up the eleven chapters of the *Kaumārvyākaraṇa* or *Kātantra* by Śarvavarman, which was very pupular is India especially in Kashmir, Bengal and the south in the 6th, 7th and the subsequent centuries of the Christian era.[1]

143. The topics on grammer embodied in the *Purāṇa* are (i) Pratyāhāras[2] and their formation, (ii) Rules[3] of Sandhi or euphonic combination, (iii) Subbibhaktis[4] or case-endings, (iv) Strīliṅgaśabda or words in feminine gender, (v) Napuṁsaka[6] Śabda or words in neuter gender, (vi) Kāraka[7] or

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[1] The *Kātantra* seems to be the oldest of the works on grammar representing the later schools. Its author Śarvavarman, according to a legend, wrote under Siva's special favour, hence the name Kaumāra or Kalāpa was also given to the work. The legend brings him into contact with the Sātavāhanas and thus Winternitz assigns the work to third century A. D. This grammar seems to have been very popular in Kashmir and Bengal, and had influence on the Dravadian grammar and the Pali grammar of Kāccāyana. It has been summarised in the *Agni-purāṇa* and the *Vyaṅkaṭeśvara* edition of the *Purāṇa* actually refers to the summing up of the *Kaumāra* grammar. Originally, it had fonr books and had also supplements in the Tibetan translation and in Durgāsiṁha's commentary. Its fragments are discovered in Central Asia and the Dhātupātha is to be found only in the Tibetan version. Ugrābhūmi wrote a commentary on it called Śiṣyahitanyāsa (A D. 1000). According to a tradition, Śarvavarmā used the grammer of Indragomin for his work, and this work was, parhaps, popular among the Buddhists of Nepal, but it is lost. Vide *N. S.* p. 422.

[2] Chap. 349; [3] Chap. 350; [4] Chap. 351;
[5] Chap. 352; [6] Chap. 353; [7] Chap. 354;

case, (vii) Samāsa[1] or compounds, (viii) Taddhita[2] or nominal derivatives, (ix) Uṇādi,[3] (x) Tiṅ-Vibhakti,[4] or verbal terminations, (xi) Kṛta-pratyayas[5] or verbal suffixes.

144. *Pratyāhāra, Sandhi, Vibhakti* :—The grammer portion in the *Purāṇa* begins with the account of the *Māheśvarasūtras* and the formation of the Pratyāhāras, two letters being put together to convey the sense of all the intervening letters together with the first. About fortytwo Pratyāhāras are given.[6] The rules of Svara, Vyañjana and Visarga Sandhis and also of Prakṛtībhāva are disposed off in 13 verses by referring merely to the examples, illustrating different rules, e. g. Daṇḍāgraṁ, Sāgatā, Dadhīdam, Tavalkāra, Ardharca, A Avehi, Vāñnīti Bhavāñjayaḥ, Tvambhartā, Kaśśvasuraḥ, Kassvaraḥ, Devā ete[7] etc. The Vibhaktis are described as *Sup* and *Tiṅ.* The Sup Vibhaktis being seven in number may be mentioned as follows :—

	Singular.	*Dual.*	*Plural.*
(i)	Su	Au	Jas
(ii)	Am	Auṭ	Śas
(iii)	Ṭā	Bhyām	Bhis
(iv)	Ṅe	Bhyām	Bhyas
(v)	Ṅasi	Bhyām	Bhyas
(vi)	Ṅas	Os	Śam
(vii)	Ṅi	Os	Sup.[8]

145. *Prātipadikas* :—The Prātipadikas are described as being of two kinds, Ajanta (ending in a vowel) and Halanta (ending in a consonant). Each one of these is again threefold according to its gender masculine, feminine and neuter. Then follows a list of typical words belonging to different genders.[9]

146. A Prātipadika is that which is not a root and which is without a Pratyaya, and to which various case-endings are

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[1] Chap. 355; [2] Chap. 356; [3] Chap. 357;
[4] Chap. 358; [5] Chap. 359; [6] *Agn.* 349/7;
[7] *Ibid.* 350/1–13; [8] *Ibid.* 351/1–3; [9] *Ibid.* 351/4–20;

added.[1] The Prathamā Vibhakti is added to a Prātipadika to indicate its gender, number, etc, and also in Sambodhana (exclaiming or addressing a man). A word in the objective case takes Dvitīyā. The Tṛtīyā is used in the sense of Kāraka (instrument or agent). The Caturthī is added to words in the sense of *Sampradāna* (when something is given to a person), and the Pañcamī is used in the sense of *Apādāna* (taking away or separating something from). The Śaṣṭhī is added in the sense of possession and the Saptamī in the sense of *Ādhārā* (support).[2] The three numbers Singular, dual and plural are also defined.[3]

147. *Declension of words in three genders*[4] :—The declension of some typical words in masculine gender is given e. g. Vṛkṣa, Sarva, Viśva, Pūrva, Kavi, Somapā, Suśrī, Sudhi, Grāmaṇī, Pitṛ, Kartṛ, Go, Tiryak, Dik, Rājan, Daṇḍin, Pathin, Suvacas etc. The declension of the words in the feminine and the neuter genders is also given.[5] The words in feminine gender that are declined are Ramā, Jarā, Sarvā, Buddhi, Nadī, Śrī, Strī, Jambu, Varṣābhū, Punarbhū, Mātṛ, Gau, Nau, Vāk, Śṛka, Bhavatī, Divyatī, Dṛṣad, Subhrū, Adas etc. The list of the words in neuter gender includes these words–Kim, Sarva, Grāma, Vāri, Śuci, Trapu and Kartṛ. Besides, the personal pronouns are also included in the list, e. g. Aham, Tvam etc.

The chapter 354 gives an account of the Kārakas, their kinds and rules about their uses. Kartā is of five kinds Svatantra Kartā, Hetukartā, Kartā of the verb in passive[6] voice, Abhihita Kartā and Anabhihita. Karma is of seven kinds *Viz.* Īpsita, Anīpsita, Na Īpsita Na Anīpsita, Akathita, Kartṛkarma, Abhihita Karma and Anabhihita. The Karaṇa is of two kinds, Bāhya and Abhyantara. Sampradāna is of three kinds, Preraka, Anugantṛka and Anirākartṛka. Apādāna has two kinds Cala and Acala. Adhikaraṇa is of four kinds

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[1] *Ibid.* 351/21–23;
[2] *Ibid.* 351/23–28;
[3] *Ibid.* 351/28–29;
[4] *Ibid.* 351/29–72;
[5] Chap. 352–353;
[6] *Ibid.* 355/3;

Vyāpaka, Aupaśleṣika, Vaiṣayika and Sāmīpyakam. A fifth kind Aupacārika is also given, its illustration being of Lakṣaṇā, *Gaṅgāyāṅghoṣaḥ*.[1] The uses of the various Vibhaktis to indicate different senses are also given.[2]

148. *Samāsa* :—The chapter 352 sums up the Samāsas (compounds), which are six-fold with their twenty-eight subdivisions. They are again divided into two sets on the basis of Nitya and Anitya as also Luk and Aluk. Kumbhakāra, Hemakāra etc. are the examples of Nityasamāsa, whereas Rājapumān (Rājñaḥ pumān) is Anitya. Similarly, Kaṇṭhāśrita is an instance of Luksamāsa and Kaṇṭhekāla and such others are examples of Aluk-samāsa. The illustrations of the followings Samāsas with their *Vigraha* are also given. *Tatpuruṣa*—It has eight varieties, which are as follows:—*Prathamā*-Pūrvakāya (Pūrvaṁ Kāyasya); similarly Aparkāya, Adharakāya, Uttarakāya, Ardhakāya etc., are also given. *Dvitīyā Tat*—Āpannajīvita, Mādhavāśrita. *Tṛtīyā Tat*—Dhānyārth. *Caturthī Tat*—Viṣṇubali. *Pañcami Tat*—Vṛkṣa-bhiti. *Śaṣthi Tat*—Rājapumān (Rājñaḥ Pumān), Vṛkṣaphalam etc. *Saptamī Tat*—Akṣaśauṇḍa. *Nañasamāsaka*—Ahita. *Karmadhāraya*—It has six varities which are—*Viśeṣaṇottarapada*—Nīlotpala, *Viśeṣyottarapada*—Śītoṣṇa, Dvipadam, *Upamānapūrvapada*—Śaṅkhapāṇḍara, *Upamānottarapada*—Puruṣavyāghra, *Sambhāvanāpūrvapada*—Guṇabuddhi (*Guṇa Iti Buddhi*), *Avyayapūrvapada*[3]—Suhṛd. *Bahuvrīhi*—It has seven varieties, which are *Saṅkhyāpūrvapada*-Dvipāda, Ārūḍha-Bhavanaḥ, *Arcitāseṣapūrva*-Bahvaṅghriḥ. *Saṅkhyottarapada*-Upadaśaḥ, *Saṅkhyobhayapada*—Dvitrā, Dvyakṣa, Trayaḥ, *Sahapūrvapada*-Samūloddhṛtakaḥ. *Vyatihāralakṣaṇārtha*-Keśākeśi, Nakhānakhi, *Diglakṣaṇa*—Dakṣiṇapurvā. *Dvigu*-It has two varieties, which are *Ekavadbhāvī*-Dviśṛṅgam, *Anekadhā*-Pañcamūrti. *Dvandva*-It has two varieties which are *Itaretarayogaka*-Rudraviṣṇū, *Samāhāra*—Bheripaṭaham. *Avya-*

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[1] *Ibid.* 355/2–25; [2] *Ibid.* 355/15–26.

[3] *Bibliotheca India* edition of *Agn.* (354/11) gives *Avadhāraṇapūrvapada*.

yībhāva–It has two varieties, which are *Nāmapūrvapada*, Śāka prati, *Avyayapūrvaka*–Upakumbham, Uparathyam. Then each of the varieties is again two-fold, *Uttarapadārthamukhya*, and *Ubhayamukhyaka*,

149- *Taddhita, nominal derivatives* :—The chapter 356 gives a list of nominal derivatives and shows how the words are formed by the addition of different suffixes. They are three-fold, Sāmānayavṛtti, Avyayākhya and Bhāvavācaka suffixes. The list of the Sāmānyavṛtti type may be summed as *Lac* (Māṁsala, Vatsala). *Ilac*, (Phenila, Picchila), S' (Lomaśa), *N* (Pāmana), *Aṇ* (Prājña, Ārcaka), *Urac* (Dantura), *R* (Madhura, Suśira), *Va* (Keśava), *Ya* (Hiraṇya), *Va* (Mālava), *Valac* (RajaSvalā), *Ini* (Dhanī, Karī, Hastī), *Vini* (Payasvī, Māyāvī), *Yuc* (Urṇāyu), *Min* (Vāgmin), *Ālac* (Vācāla), *Aluc* (*Śītālu, Śītam na sahate, Himālu, Himam na sahate,* Rūpālu, Vātālu), *Aṇ, Apatyārtha* (Vāsiṣṭha, Kaurava), *Sosya vāsakaḥ* (Pāñcāla), Tatra Vāsaḥ *syāt* (Māthura), *Vetti Adhīte ca* (Cāndraka), *Khañ* (Praiyaṅgavaḥ), *Iñ apatyārthe*, (Dākṣi, Dāśarathi), *Kac-Apatyārthe* (Nārāyaṇa), *Phañ-Apatyārthe* (Gārgya), *Yac, Apatyārthe,* (Vātsaka), *Ḍhak–Apatyārthe* (Vainateya), *Gha* (Kṣatriya), *Kha*(Kulīna), *Vya* (Kauravya), *Yat* (Mūrdhanya, Mukhya), *It* (Sugandhi), *Itac, Tārakādibhyaḥ* (Tārkita), *Anaṅ* (Puṣpadhavan, Sudhanvan), *Cuñcup* (Vittacuñcu), *Caṇap* (Keśacaṇa), *Rūpa* (Paṭarūpakam), *Iyas* (Paṭīyas), *Tarap* (Akṣatara, Pacatitarām), *Tamap* (Aṭatitamām), *Kalhap* (Mṛdukalpa, Indrakalpa, Arkakalpa), *Deśīya* (Rājadeśīya), Jātīya, (Paṭujātīya), Mātrac (Jānumātra), Dvayesac (Ūrudvayasa), Dadhnac (Ūrudadhna).

Avyayākhya Taddhita :—Adhunā (*Asminkāle*), *Dā* (Sarvadā), *Hil* (Tarhi, *Tasminkāle*, Karhi *Kasminkāle*), *Ha* (Iha, *Asminkāle*), *Thal* (Yathā), *Tham* (Katham), *Dya* (Adya, Asminnahṁ), *Aidyus* (Purvedyu), *Dhyamun* (Aikadhyam), Dhamun (Dvaidham), Dhac (Dvidhā).

150. *Bhāvavācaka Taddhitas* :—*Tva* (Paṭutvam *Paṭorbhāvaḥ*), *Tal* (Paṭutā, *Paṭorbhāvaḥ*), *Iman* (Prathimā, *Pṛthor-*

bhāvaḥ), *Ṣyañ* (Saukhya, *Sukhasya Bhāvaḥ*), *Yat* (Steyam *Stenasya Bhāvaḥ*), *Ya* (Sakhyam, *Sākhyuḥ Bhāvaḥ*), *Yak* (Kāpeyam, *Kapeḥ Bhāvaḥ*, Sainyam, Pathyam etc), *Aṇ* (Āśvam, Kaumārakam, Yauvanam), Kaṇ (Ācāryakam).

151. *Uṇādi-pratyayas* :—The Uṇādi–pratyayas are described in the chapter 357 of the *Agni-purāṇa,* which contains only twelve verses. These Pratyayas are added to the roots, and they may be summed up as follows—*Un* (Kāru, Jāyu, Māyu, Gomāyu ; such words are mostly used in *Āyurveda*—Āyu, Svādu, Hantu, Kiṁśāru, Kṛkavāku, Guru, Māru, Śaṁyu, Sāru, Svaru; Trapu, Phalgu etc.), *Kram* (Gṛdhra), *Kirac* (Mandira), *Ilac* (Salila, Bhaṇḍila), *Kvasu* (Vidvas), *Ni* (Vahni), *Inan* (Hariṇa). Several other words are mentioned but the Pratyayas added to them are not specifically mentioned.

152. *Verbal forms, Tiṅvibhaktisiddharūpam* :—The chapter 358 in the *Agni-purāṇa* is devoted to the account of verbal terminations and the verbal forms got by adding them to the roots. The verbal terminations are added to the roots of the words in threefold manner—(i) Bhāva, (ii) Karmaṇi (passive voice), and (iii) Kartari (Active voice). The verbs are either *Sakarmaka* (transitive) or *Akarmaka* (intransitive). Various tenses and moods of the verbs and their different uses are also mentioned, which may be summed up as—*Laṭ* (Vartamāne, Present tense), *Liṅ* (Vidhyādyarthe. Subjunctive, Benedictive etc.), *Loṭ* (*Vidhyadau, Āśiṣica,* Imperative and Banedictive), *Laṇ* (*Bhūtanadyatane,* past Indefinite), *Luṇ* (Bhūte, Aorist), *Liṭ* (*Parokṣe,* Past perfect), *Luṭ,* (Bhāvini Adyatane, first or periphrastic future, future going to occur during the course of the day), *Lṛṭ* (Second future), *Liṇ* (Āśiṣi ca, Conditional mood). Then follows an account of the two Padas, Ātmanepada and Parasmaipada, and the terminations of both the Padas in different numbers and persons are given. In this connection, three persons are also mentioned *viz.* Prathama Pumān (III person), Madhyamanaraḥ (II person), Uttama Pumān (I person). The Terminations may be summed up as under :—

Parasmaipada—

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Prathama	Tip	Tas	Anti
Madhyama	Sip	Thas	Tha
Uttama	Mip	Vas	Mas

Ātmanepada :—

Prathama	Ta	Ātām	Anta
Madhyama	Tas	Āthām	Dhvam
Uttama	I	Vahi	Mahi

153. A number of roots beginning with *Bhū* (Bhvādigaṇa) is also given.[1] The conjugation of *Bhū* in various tenses and moods is given. The following verbal formations are also mentioned.

	Form	*Pratyaya*	*Sense*
(i)	Bhūyate	*Yak*	*Bhāve*
(ii)	Anubhūyate	*Yak*	*Karmaṇi* (Passive)
(iii)	Bubhūṣati	*San*	*Icchārthaka* (Desiderative)
(iv)	Bhāvayati	*Ṇic*	*Preraṇārthaka* (Causal)
(v)	Bobhūyate	*Yaṇ*	Frequentative
(vi)	Putrīyati	*Kyac*	Putrakāmyati
(vii)	Paṭapaṭāyate		
(viii)	Bubhūṣayati	*San Ṇic*	Desiderative causal.

154. *Verbal derivations, Kṛtsiddharūpam*:—The Kṛt affixes, which are added to verbs to form verbal nouns, are summed up in the chapter 369 of the *Purāṇa* in eight verses. They are described as being added in Bhāve, Karmaṇi (Passive), and Kartari (active). They may be summed up as *Bhāve—Ac, Lyuṭ, Ktin,* Ghañ, *Yuc—Ac,* (Vinaya, Utkara, Prakara Bhadra, Śrīdhara), *Lyuṭ* (Śobhanam), *Tavya* and *Anīya* (Kartavyam, Karaṇīyam); *Yat*—(Deyam, Dhyeyam), ṇyat (Kāryam) *Kta*—(Kartari, also sometimes Bhāve and Karmaṇi);[2] *Śatṛ* (Bhāve), *Śānac* (Edhamāna), *Ṇvul*—(Bhāvaka).

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[1] *Ibid.* 358/7–10.

[2] *Ibid.* 359/61.

Tṛc (Bhavitā), *Kvip* (Svayambhū), *Kvasu* (Babhūvivas, Pecivas), Kānac (Pecana, Śraddadhānakaḥ), *Aṇ* (Kumbhakāraḥ), Uṇādi (Bhūte-Vāyu, Pāyu, Kāru).

155. *General estimate* :—The foregoing account shows how the *Agni-purāṇa* has summed up the eleven chapters of the *Kaumāra* grammar, which represented a school, different from that of Pāṇini. In summing up, the *Purāṇa* has embodied all the important topics from grammar right from the *Māheśvarasūtras* to the *Uṇādi* Sūtras including declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, number, person, gender, case and case-endings, Taddhita (nominal dervatives) and Kṛdanta (Verbal derivatives). The summing up is done systematically in a simple and easily understandable manner. The scheme of grammar adopted by the *Purāṇa* does not differ from Pāṇinean grammar in fundamentals, but still with regard to certain essentials and other details, there is mnch divergence between the two. This scheme of grammar, though not complete in itself being merely in outline, embodies the gist of the *Kaumāra Vyākaraṇa*.

(v) Lexicography

156. *Lexicography in Agni-purāṇa :–Amarakoṣa adopted*[1]:—

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[1] The *Amarakoṣa* or *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* of Amarasiṁha is the earliest extant lexicon regarded as the most authoritative. Amarasiṁha, its author, is also described as a poet and seems to have been acquainted with Kālidāsa. He was a Buddhist and he knew the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism. The question of his date is far from settled. He is traditionally associated with the court of Vikramāditya being reagarded as one of the nine gems of his court. In the light of this tradition, he is generally assigned to the sixth century A. D. but the date may be taken much earlier if the traditional Vikramāditya is identified with Chandragupta, the founder of the Vikrama era, who is assigned to Ist century B. C. As for the lower limit of his date, it may be suggested that the *Nyāsa* of Jinedrabuddhi (A. D. 700) does not know him, and the decline of Buddhism in the 8th century indicates that he may have flourished earlier than that date.

The *Agni-purāṇa* devotes nine chapters in all to the account of lexicography. The chapter[1] titled *Ekākṣarābhidhānam* gives a list of words of one syllable. A comparative synopsis of the contents of these eight chapters[2] of the *Agni-purāṇa* and the corresponding chapters of the *Amarkoṣa* will shed valuable light on the process of the compilation of the *Agni-purāṇa*.

157. *Comparative Synopsis* :—

Agni-purāṇa	*Amarakoṣa,*
Chapter 360—*Svarga-pātālādi* varga	— I *Kāṇḍa, Svarga Varga,* 6-79 verses, *Pātāla-varga,* 239–347 verses.
,, 361—*Avayayavarga*	— III *Kāṇḍa,* 1448–1490 verses.
,, 362—*Nānārtha-Varga*	— III *Kāṇḍa,* 1201–1465 verses.
,, 263—*Bhūmivanauṣadhādi-varga*	—II *Kāṇḍa, Bhūmivarga,* 301–319 verses, *Vanauṣadhi,* 349–562 verses
,, 364—*Nṛbrahmakṣatraviṭśūdra*	— II *Kāṇḍa–Manuṣya* or *Nṛ Varga,* 564–703 verses.
,, 365—*Brahmavarga*	— II *Kāṇḍa, Brahmavarga,* 704–759 verses.
,, 366—*Kṣatraviṭaśūdra-vargu*	— II *Kāṇḍa-Kṣatriya-varga,* 766–885 verses, *Vaiśya-varga,* 888–998 verses, *Śudra-varga,* 998–1033 verses.
,, 367—*Sāmānyanāma-liṅga-varga*	—III *Kāṇḍa–Viśeṣyanighna-varga,* 1048 verse onwards.

158. *Ekākṣrābhidhānaṁ (Single-syllable lexicon)* :—The chapter 348 in the *Purāṇa* gives a list of mono-syllabic homonyms but in fact the words given are not words as such used for literary or writing purpose, but they are mystical symbols

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[1] Chap. 343;

[2] Chap. 360–367.

representing some divinity or other. Thus the lexicon is purely a collection of mystical words useful in the Śāktic cult. The *Purāṇa* itself lends support to the view, when it says that the account of mystical symbols of one syllable would follow.[1] All the vowels and consonants are identified with deities, and some other meaning of those letters is also given; at times, the meaning is correct as in the case of *Kha, Śa.* This account may be summed up as follows :—

A (Viṣṇu, restraint), *Ā* (Brahmā, Sentence, boundary, anger, pain,), *I*, (*Kāma,* cupid or desire), *Ī* (Rati, Lakṣmī), *U* (Śiva), *Ū* (Protector), *Ṛ*, (*Śabda,* sound), *Ṝ*, (Aditi), *Lṛ.* (Diti), *L̄ṛ.* (Guṇa), *E* (Devī), *Ai* (Yogī), *O* (Brahmā), *Au*, (Maheśvara), *Aṁ* (Kāma), *Aḥ* (*Praśasta,* excellent), *K*. (Brahmā), *Ku* (*Kutsita,* bad, wicked), *Kh* (sky, senses, *mukha*), *G* (Gandharva), *Gu* (Gati, *Gayana*), *Gh* (*Ghaṇṭā,* bell, *Kiṅkiṇi-mukha*), *Ṅ* (*Tāḍana, Viṣaya, Spṛhā,* Bhairava,), *C* (*Durgama, Nirmala,*), *Ch* (*Cheda*), *Ji*, (*Jayana*), *J* (*Gīta*), *Jh*.(*Praśasta*), *Ñ*, (*Bala*), *Ṭ* (*Gayana*), *Ṭh* (*Candramaṇḍala, Śūnya,* Śiva, *Udbandhana*). *Ḍ* (Rudra, *Dhvani, Trāsa*), *Ḍh* (*Ḍhakkā, Dhvani*). *Ṇ* (*Niṣkarṣa, Niścaya*), *T* (Caura, Kroḍa-pucchaka), *Th* (*Bhakṣaṇa, Chedan*), *D* (*Dhāraṇā, Śobhana*), *Dh* (*Dhātṛ, Dhūstūra*), *N* (*Vṛnda, Sugata*), *P* (*Upavana, Vikhyāta,*), *Ph* (*Jhañjhānila*), *phu* (*phutkāra, niṣphala*), *Vi*, (*Pakṣī*), *Bh* (Tāraka), *M* (*Śrī, Māna, Mātā*), *Y* (Yoga), *R* (*Vahni, Bala*), *L* (Śakra, Vidhātā,), *V* (*Viśleṣaṇa,* Varuṇa), Ś (*Śayana, Sukha*), *Ṣ* (Śreṣṭha), *S* (*Parokṣa, Kaca*), Sā (*Lakṣmī*), H (*Dhāraṇā,* Rudra), *Kṣ* (*Kṣetra, Akṣara, Nṛsiṁha Hari, Kṣetra-pālaka*).

After this, various mystical Mantras in honour of the deities, as also the manner of worshipping them are[2] given.

159. *Svargapātālādi Varga* :—The chapter 360 titled *Svargapātālādivarga* tries to sum up in 95 verses the contents

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[1] *Agn.* 348/1;

[2] *Agn.* 348/13-24;

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of all the ten vargas[1] of the first *Kāṇḍa* and those of the three Vargas of the second *Kāṇḍa* of the *Amarakoṣa,* though in this case only one verse is given *verbatim* in the *Purāṇa.* Thus, the *Purāṇa* in this chapter makes an effort to sum up the first *Kāṇda* of the *Amarakoṣa.* But the term summing up may not be correctly applied in this case, because the Purāṇic author has merely tried to bring together from the *Amarakoṣa* various verses, sometimes whole, sometimes in part, distorted from their context, and presents a sort of jumble of the contents of the first *Kāṇḍa.* He has tried to compose independent verses by borrowing either different words from different verses of the *Amarakoṣa,* or by putting together two parts of two different verses together and thus coining altogether a new verse, of course, only in form. Thus, the verses in the *Purāṇa* are coined either of the words selected from different verses of the *Amarakoṣa* irrespective of the context in which they occur, or by putting together different parts of different verses. After five or six such verses, the *Purāṇa* has tried to insert one or two complete verses *verbatim.* An examination of the verses would illustrate the point clearly. The first two verses in the *Purāṇa*[2] run thus :—

“स्वर्गादिनामलिङ्गो यो हरिस्तं प्रवदामि ते । स्वर्गनाकत्रिदिवा द्यौर्दिवौद्वे त्रिविष्टपम् ॥
देवा वृन्दारका लेखा रुद्राद्या गणदेवताः । विद्याधरोऽप्सरोयक्षरक्षोगन्धर्वकिन्नराः” ॥

The first line of the first verse is merely introductory indicating the topic that is being described. The second line of the first verse is formed by a part of the first line and part of the second line of the sixth verse in the first *Kāṇḍa* of the *Amarakoṣa.* The second verse in the *Purāṇa* is very queerly constituted. Its first line is constituted of words occurring in several verses in the *Amarakoṣa.* The first word *Devā* in the Purāṇic verse is the third word in the first line of the seventh verse[3] in the *Amarakoṣa.* The second word *Vṛndārakā* in the

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[1] Svarga, Vyoma, Dik, Kāla, Dhī, Śabdādi, Nāṭya, Pātāla-bhogī, Naraka, Vāri.

[2] Chapter 360/1–2.

[3] “अमरा निर्जरा देवास्त्रिदशा विबुधाः स्मृताः”;

Purāṇic verse is the first word in the second line of the ninth verse[1] in the *Amarakoṣa.* The word *Lekhā* occurs as the third word in the eighth verse of the *Amarakoṣa,* and the words *Rudrādyā Gaṇadevatāḥ* occur as the last part of the tenth verse in the *Amarakoṣa* as *Rudrāśca Gaṇadevatāḥ.* This analysis of the first two verses of the *Purāṇa* in the light of the corresponding portion in the *Amarakoṣa* illustrates the method adopted by the *Purāṇakāra* in summing up the contents of the first *Kāṇḍa* of the *Amarakoṣa* in the 360th chapter of the *Purāṇa.*

160. *Avyaya, Nānārtha etc.* The chapter 361 of the *Agni-purāṇa* titled *Avyayavarga* summarises verses 1448–1490 from the third *Kāṇḍa* of the *Amarakoṣa.* The chapter 362 of the *Purāṇa* titled *Nānārthavarga* summarises verses 1201–1465 of the same *Kāṇḍa.* The chapter 363 of the *Purāṇa* titled *Bhūmi-vanauṣadhi-varga* sums up verses 301–562 of the second *Kāṇḍa* of the *Amarakoṣa.* The chapter 364 called *Nṛbrahmakṣatra viṭśūdra varga* sums up verses 564–703 of the second *Kāṇḍa.* The chapter 365 called *Brahmavarga* of the *Purāṇa* sums up verses 704–759 of the second *Kāṇḍa.* The chapter 366 titled *Kṣatraviṭśūdra-varga* sums up verses 766–1033 of the second *Kāṇḍa,* and the chapter 367 of the *Purāṇa* titled *Sāmānyanāma-liṅga-varga* sums up verses 1048 onwards of the third *Kāṇḍa* of the *Amarakoṣa.* Thus in eight chapters the *Purāṇa* has tried to compress the three *Kāṇḍa* with various Vargas of the *Amarakoṣa* and in doing so the author of the *Purāṇa* has tried to evolve his own method of describing the contents of the *Amarakoṣa.* An analysis[2] of the *Agni-purāṇa* chapters on lexicography clearly shows that the author of the *Purāṇa* has ingeniously tried to adopt the contents of the *Amarakoṣa* with variations here and there.

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[1] "वृन्दारका दैवतानि पुंसि वा देवताः स्त्रियाम् ।"

[2] A comparative analysis of the *Agnipurāṇa* and *Amarakoṣa* is given in the Appendix (iv).

CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

(1)

1. *Introductory, Bhuvnakoṣa Tradition* :—The Purāṇic geographical account is mixed up with mythology, and it is not easy to sort out the actual from the imaginary. This is to a great extent responsible for some of the funny attempts at identification of mythological names with actual place-names. But there is no gainsaying the fact that the ancient Hindus did possess, more or less, accurate knowledge of the country they inhabited, and, perhaps, from early times had evolved a tradition with regard to geography of the world called *Bhuvanakoṣa*. The *Purāṇas* reserve (i) a section on geography—*Bhuvanakoṣa*, giving a list of rivers, mountains, countries and tribes. They also deal with (ii) *topographia sacra* and contain (iii) many incidental references.[1] The *Bhuvanakoṣa* tradition has been adopted by the Purāṇas, especially the earlier ones, with slight modifications with regard to details. Thus, the Purāṇas are a helpful source for the geographical knowledge of the ancient Hindus, who did not confine themselves within the four walls of their own land, but undertook cultural and commercial activities abroad, which must have, to a great extent, added to their geographical knowledge.

2. *Evolution of Geographical Tradition* :—A critical study of the Vedic, Brāhmaṇic, Buddhist and other literature of India clearly indicates that the ancient Indians were not averse to studying the geography of their land; they even tried to think of the world as a whole. And in this, their imagination supplemented by their mythological notions played a dominant role, and thus came into being a regular tradition about the world as it was imagined to be constituted with special refe-

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[1] *Agi. Introduction*, p. XLV.

rence to the geographical conditions of India. This geographical tradition may well be seen in most of the important Purāṇas, the *Mahābhārata* and certain astronomical works e. g. Varāhamihira's, *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Bhāskarācārya's *Sūrya-Siddhānta* etc. This tradition has two currents of thought, one representing actual state of affairs with regard to India or Bhāratavarṣa and the other representing the conclusions about world-geography based on imagination. This aspect of the geographical account of ancient India is nicely explained in the *Cambrihge History of India.*[1] "The account of Manvantara of Manusvāyambhuva, the first in the series of fourteen, includes a description of the universe as it now exists or is supposed to exist. The greater part of this description is imaginary. The world, according to this geography, consists of seven concentric continents separated by encircling seas. The innermost of these continents, which, and here we come to actuallity, is separated from the next by salt water, is Jambudvīpa; and of Jambudvīpa the most important is Bhāratvarṣa or Bhārata, our present India."

(2)

3. *Agni-purāṇa and Geographical Tradition :*—This geographical tradition partly based on actuality and partly on imagination is adopted, though not in *toto*, in the *Agni-purāṇa*,[2] where five chapters[3] are devoted to the geographical account. This account begins with the king Priyavrata, who had ten sons—Agnidhara, Agnibāhu, Vapuṣmān, Dyutimān, Medha, Medhātithi, Bhavya, Savana, Jyotiṣmān and Satya. Accordingly, the king Priyavrata gave the seven Dvīpas to his sons. Jambudvīpa was given to Agnidhara and Plakṣa to Medhātithi. Śālmali was assigned to Vapuṣmān, Kuśa to Jyotiṣmān, Krauñca to Dyutimān, Śāka to Bhavya, and Puṣkara to Savana.

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[1] Vol. I, chap. XIII, p. 564;

[2] For this and subsequent chapters *Ānandāśrama edition* of the *Agni-purāṇa* is generally adopted.

[3] 107, 108, 118, 119, 120.

Agnidhara, subsequently, distributed his possessions to his sons. Jambudvīpa was given to his son Lakṣa, Hima to Nābhi, Hemakūṭa to Kimpuruṣa, Naiṣadha to Harivarṣa, Merumadhya to Ilāvṛtta, Nīlācalāśrita to Ramya, Śvetavarṣa to Hiraṇvat, Kurus to Kuru, Bhadrāśva to Bhadrāśva. Paścima to Ketumāla. Bharata, the son of Ṛṣabha gave his name to the country, hence the country came to be called Bhāratavarṣa.[1]

4. *Seven Dvīpas, Seas, Mountains* :—After this preliminary description, the *Purāṇa*[2] gives the mythological account of the various Dvīpas in their geographical setting. The universe is imagined as constituted of seven Dvīpas[3] *viz.* Jambu, Plakṣa, Śālmalī, Kuśa, Krauñca Śāka and Puṣkara. These seven Dvīpas are respectively surrounded by salt (*Lavaṇa*), canesugar (Ikṣu), wine (Surā), clarified butter (Sarpiṣ), curds (Dadhi), milk (Dugdha) and water (Jala) seas. They are concentric, and Jambudvīpa is in the centre of all the Dvīpas, the mount Meru being situated in its middle. It extends over 34000 Yojanas. Its breadth is 32000 Yojanas at the summit and 16000 Yojanas at the base. Its peaks are known as Himavān, Hemakūṭa and Niṣadha. The hills which lie further south to Meru are Nīla, Śveta and Śṛṅgī. The Varṣaparvatas lie to the north of Meru, two of them measure a Lakṣa Yojanas in the middle, while the others measure 10,000 Yojanas less at the same part, their altitude being 2000 Yojanas, which is their breadth at the base. The countries lying to the south of Meru are Bhāratavarṣa, Kimpuruṣa and Harivarṣa. The countries to the North are Ramya, Hiraṇmaya and Uttarkurvaḥ. Each of the above countries extends over 9000 Yojanas. Around the Meru lies the counry of Ilāvṛtta, 9,000 Yojanas in expanse. Four mountains heave up their summits from its midst, Mandra in the east, Gandamādana in the south, Vipula in the west and Supārśva in the north. The trees that grow on these mountains are Jambu, Kadamba and Pippala,

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[1] *Agn.* 107/1–10; [2] *Ibid.* 108; [3] *Ibid.* 108/1–3.

and they extend over a region of 11000 miles, their natural abode being those mountain-sides.[1]

5. *Jambudvīpa, Lakes and rivers* :—Jambudvīpa is so called because of Jambu trees growing in abundance there, and is washed by the waters of the Jambu river. The mount Supārśva lies to the east and Ketumāla to the west of the Meru chain. Citraratha forest lies to its east, mount Gandhamādana to its south, the Vaibhrāja to its west and the Nandana to its south. The lakes in the Meru region are Aruṇoda, Mahābhadra, Śitoda, Mānasa and Sitāmbha. Kesarācala is in the east and the mountains Trikūṭa etc. are in the south of the above lakes. The hills called Śikhivāsamukha are to the south and the hills known as Śaṅkhakūṭa to the north of Meru. The God Brahmā has his abode on the Meru mountain; the rivers Sitā and Alakanandā washing the feet of the god Viṣṇu descend on the hill known as Bhadrāśva, leaping down from hill to hill. Mālyavat and Gandhamādana traverse the two latter countries. Meru is situated between the two mountains in the form of a Karṇikā flower, of which the petals are formed by Bhāratvarṣa, Ketumāla, Bhadrāśva, Uttarkurvaḥ, and Devakūṭa, which run north to south across the country. Anila, Niṣadha, Kailāśa and Gandamādana run across the same country. The hills of Niṣadha and Pāriyātra traverse a space of 80 Yojanas from sea to sea. Triśṛṅga and Rudhira are respectively situate on the east and west side of the Meru mountain. In each of the Varṣas, there are seven Kūṭācalas and several rivers.[2]

6. *Bhāratvarṣa, Dvīpas, Kulaparvatas* :—After the description of the various Dvīpas as also the account of the great Meru, the *Agni-purāṇa*[3] again takes up the description of Bhāratavarṣa. Here the *Purāṇakāra* bases his account on actuality. Describing the boundaries, the *Purāṇa*[4] says that in the north of the seas and to the south of the Himālayas

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[1] Ibid. 108/4–13; [2] Ibid. 108/14–33;
[3] Chapter 118. [4] 118/1;

is situate Bhāratavarṣa, its expanse being 9000 Yojanas. It is the land of action (*Karmabhūmi*), where heaven (*Svarga*) and emancipation (*Apavarga*) can be attained. It has seven Kulaparvatas (mountains)–Mahendra (on the eastern coast near Ganjam), Malaya (in south India, Mysore), Sahya (Western Ghats), Śuktimān, Hema-parvata (the Himalayas), Vindhya (the Vindhyas) and Pāriyātra (the Arvalli hills)[1]. Bhāratavarṣa consists of nine Dvīpas. Here the word *Dvīpa* may have been used in its etymological sense in accordance with the derivation given by Pāṇini. If these divisions of Bhāratavarṣa are to be actually assigned to India the commonly accepted meaning of the word *Dvīpa* would be untenable. Even the suggestion that the term Bhāratvarṣa indicates greater India and the view that the various Dvīpas, at least some of them, may be located in the east India, cannot commend itself to a critical student of the Purāṇas, as will be noticed hereafter. For the present, we merely confine ourselves to the account of the various Dvīpas of Bhāratavarṣa as given in the *Agni-purāṇa*. The Dvīpas are Indra, Kaseru, Tāmravarṇa, Gabhastimān, Nāga, Saumya, Gāndharva and Vāruṇa. The ninth Dvīpa is not mentioned by name. The *Purāṇa*[2] merely says, "Here is the ninth of those, encircled with sea, spreading over 1000 Yojanas from north to south." Obviously there seems to be some confusion with regard to the ninth Dvīpa. This confusion is, perhaps, responsible for the greater India theory.

7. *Bhāratvarṣa* :—Then follows a brief account of the tribes inhabiting the various parts of Bhāratavarṣa. In the east of the Madhyabheda, there live the Kirātas, the Yavanas and in the middle Brāhmaṇas. In the west are situated the countries Kurupāñcāla, Madhyadeśa etc. The rivers rising from the various mountains are also described. From the Pāriyātra rise the rivers Vedasmṛti–mukha etc. (this is sheer myth), from the Vindhya the rivers Narmadā and others, from Sahya

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[1] 118/2/4;

[2] 118/4–5;

the rivers Tāpī,[1] Payoṣṇikā, Godāvarī, Bhīmarathī, Kṛṣṇā, Veṇā, etc., from the Malaya mountain the rivers Kṛtamālā and others, from the Mahendra mountain, the river Trisāmā and others, from the Śuktimat the river Kumāra and others, from the Himādri the river Candrabhāgā and others. Of these at least some, especially those rising from the Vindhya and Sahya could be located on the map of India, as for the rest the element of myth seems to have been the guiding principle. In the *Purāṇa* the account of Bhāratavarṣa abruptly ends.[2]

8. *Mahādvipas :*—After describing Bhāratavarṣa, the *Purāṇa*[3] takes up the account of the Mahāvdvīpas. The world, according to the Purāṇic conception, is divided into seven Dvīpas, *viz.* Jambu (rose-apple), Plakṣa (Indian fig tree), Śālmalī (the silk-cotton tree), Kuśa (a kind of grass), Krauñca (heron), Śāka (teak tree) and Puṣkara (blue lotus). All these seven Dvīpas are concentric and are surrounded by the seas of various description. In the account of the seven Mahādvīpas, the number seven seems to be very popular. For each of the seven continents is generally described as having seven Varṣas (countries), seven mountains and seven rivers. Besides various people, their Dharma, the mode of life etc. also find a place in the account. These Dvīpas are named after the names derived from the vegetable kingdom. Jambudvīpa extends to a lac of Yojanas and is surrounded by the salt sea which is a lac of Yojanas in measure. No further details regarding it are given. Covering up the salt seas stands Plakṣa-dvīpa, where seven sons of Medhātithi enjoy overlordship. The seven Varṣas of the Dvīpa are Śāntabhaya, Śiśira, Sukhodaya, Ānanda, Śiva, Kṣema and Dhruva. These are the names of Madhātithi's sons and the Varṣas are named after them. The seven mountains are Gomedha, Candra, Nārada, Dundubhi, Somaka, Sumanaḥ and Vaibhrāj. The Dvīpa has seven

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[1] In fact, the Tāpī or Tāptī rises not from Sahya mountain but from a lake near the town Betul in the Betul district of Madhya Pradesh

[2] *Agn.* 118/5–8;

[3] Chapter 119;

great rivers of which names are not given. The duration of the life of the people inhabiting it is five thousand years and the people follow the duties of Varṇas and Āśramas. The people constituting the populace are Āryakas, Kuravas, Kinnaras, Bhāvinas, Vipras and others. They are the worshippers of Soma.[1]

9. The Śāmalī-dvīpa is surrounded by the ocean of sugar-cane. Seven sons of Vapuṣmān are the lords of the continent. It is divided into seven Varṣas–Śveta, Harita, Jīmūta, Lohita, Vaidyuta, Mānasa and Suprabha. Its seven mountains are Kumuda, Anala, Balāhaka, Droṇa, Kaṅka, Mahiṣa and Kakudmān. The seven rivers therein rise from the mountains and fall into the sea, the important ones being Kapilā, Aruṇā, Pītā and Kṛṣṇā. The Brāhmaṇas are the inhabitants and they worship the wind god Vāyu.[2] The Kuśadvīpa is surrounded by the ocean of wine, the seven sons of Jyotiṣmān are the masters, and the countries named after them are Udbhid, Veṇumān, Dvairathi, Lambana, Dhairya, Kapila and Prabhākara; Vipras (Brāhmṇas) and Dadhimukhas are the peoples inhabiting it, and Brahmā is worshipped. The seven mountains on the continent are Vidruma, Haimaśaila, Dyutimān, Puṣpavān, Kuśaśaya, Hariśaila and Mandarācala.[3] Krauñca Dvīpa is surrounded by the sea of Ghee. the sons of Dyutimān are the masters and the countries are named after them, *viz.* Kuśala, Manonuga, Uṣṇa, Pradhāna, Andhakāraka, Muni and Dundubhi. It has seven rivers of which the names are not given, and Puṣkara etc. are the sacred places. The Vipras (Brāhmaṇas) that inhabit it worship Hari.[4] The Śāka Dvīpa is surrounded by the curds–sea. The sons of Havya are the lords of the seven Varṣas named after them *viz.* Jaloda, Kumāra, Sukumāra, Maṇicakra, Kuśottara. Modākī and Druma. The seven mountains in the Dvīpa are Udayākhya, Jaladhara, Raivata, Śyāmaka, Odraka,

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[1] *Agn.* 119/1–6;
[2] *Ibid.* 119/7–11;
[3] *Ibid.* 119/11–15.
[4] *Ibid.* 119/16–19;

Āmbikeya and Keśarī. It has also seven great rivers some of them being Magā, Magadhamānasyā, Mandagā etc. The Dvijātis inhabit it and they worship the sun.[1] The Puṣkara Dvīpa is surrounded by the milk sea, as also with blue lotuses. Two sons of Savana Mahāvīta and Dhātakī are the rulers, the two Varṣas being named after them. It has one mountain called Mānasa, which is situated in the middle in the form of a bracelet. It is one thousand yojanas in length.[2]

10. *Earth and its interior, seven Pātālas :*—After this geographical account, the *Purāṇa*[3] gives an account of the earth and its interior. Extent of land on the surface of the globe is given as seven thousand Yojanas, the height or dimensions whereof between the poles being ten thousand Yojanas. In the interior of the globe and beneath the earth's surface, there are seven Pātālas (nether world) *viz.* Atala, Vitala, Nitala, Gabhastimān, Mahākhyam, Sutala and Agryam. Soils in these nether-worlds are respectively constituted of sand, stone, gold, and coloured black, brown, reddish, and the demons there lead a happy life. Underneath these nether-worlds is to be seen *Śeṣanāga,* the upholder of this earth, and on this serpent lies the god Viṣṇu. Below this globular earth are situated the hells. With this mythological account of the position of the earth ends the geographical accout of the *Agni-Purāṇa.*

12. *Conclusion :*—Thus, the *Agnipurāṇa* like other Purāṇas embodies geographical account called *Bhuvanakoṣa*. The chapter titled *Bhuvanakoṣanirūpaṇa*[4] gives an account of the seven Dvīpas constituting the earth. Each of these Dvīpas is assigned seven mountains. seven rivers and a particular tree after which the particular Dvīpa is named. They are surrounded by oceans of salt, sugar-canejuice, clarified butter, liquor, curds, milk etc. All this description seems to be sheer myth. It will not be reasonable to allocate the Dvīpas in the modern continental system. Some of the names occurring in this chapter are certainly mythologi-

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[1] *Ibid.* 119/20–21;

[2] *Ibid.* 119/22–23;

[3] Chapter 120.

[4] Chapter 108.

cal in their origin. In the subsequent chapters[1], the *Purāṇa* deals with the importance of the various sacred places like Puṣkara, Dvārakā, Kurukṣetra, Vārāṇasī, Citrakūṭa, Prayāga, Narmadā, Gaṅgā etc. These chapters supply important material of topographical interest, The chapter 118 gives an account of India as such (Bhāratavarṣam). The account begins with the boundries of[2] India. Here, it is noteworthy that the actual boundaries of India are given, which shows that the author, though adopting earlier geographical tradition, did not lose sight of actuality. Having described the correct boundaries, the author calls India *Karmabhūmi* (land of action). Then follows an account of the seven mountains (*Kulaparvatas*), all of which may easily be identified. Of the seven mountains Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya and Śuktimān belong to the south India, and Hema, Pāriyātra and Vindhya are in the north India. The nine Dvīpas (Indra, Kaseru, Tāmravarṇa, Gabhastimān, Nāga, Saumya, Gāndhāra, Varuṇa, and Sāgarāvṛtta) of the Bhuvankoṣa tradition are assigned to Bhāratavarṣa. Then follows the account of the rivers, most of which may easily be identified. The Brāhmaṇas are assigned to the middle region; Kirātas and the Yavanas to the border land. Thus, the *Purāṇa* gives in nutshell the geographical account of India, embodying in it the traditional names of the seven Dvīpas. To the Purāṇic author, the sevan Dvīpas were the divisions of India as such and not of Greater India as suggested by some scholars. The chapter 119 called *Mahādvīpa-varṇanam* gives an account of the great Dvīpas. The chapter 120 again takes up the description of *Bhuvanakoṣa,* which is based on pure mythology. Thus the geographical data available in the *Agni-Purāṇa* are just a summary of all the geographical and mythological acconnt that went by the name of *Bhuvanakoṣa.* But the author did not lose sight of actuality, that is why, the actual boundaries, mountains, rivers etc., of India are given.

13. Much information of topographical interest lies in-

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[1] Chapters, 109-115.

[2] *Agn.* 118/1.

terspersed in the *Agni-purāṇa,* which, if critically sorted out, would provide us with genuine information about the location of several places, countries, mountains, rivers etc. H. V. Trivedi in his interesting paper titled *The study of ancient geography in Agni-purāṇa*[1] has collected all topographical information contained in the *Agni-purāṇa.* He gives in alphabetical order the names of places and mountains, and explains their actual location.

(3)

13. *A Critical estimate, geographical tradition* :—A critical study of the geographical description in the *Agni-purāṇa* would reveal how the *Purāṇakāra* has fully and freely drawn upon earlier sources and adopted the old mythological tradition about the geography and constitution of the earth. Like many other traditions, this tradition also became a common property of the various branches of ancient Indian literature with the result that it is to be found, of course with slight changes here and there, in the various Purāṇas. Hence, the *Agni-purāṇa* cannot be credited with having put forward an independent scheme of the geography of the world. It has merely adopted and summarized the old tradition in its own way, and thus we get the *Bhuvanakoṣa* tradition in its full-fledged form.

14. *Identification of geographical names* :—The scholars have tried in their own way to identify various names occurring in the geographical account of the Purāṇas. Some scholars have gone to the extent of advancing fantastic theories about the identificatian of geographical names occurring in the Purāṇas with the present day geographical names.[2] Dr. Brugeis[3] makes an effort to identify the geographical names and thinks that such names as are contained in the Purāṇas, Smṛtis etc., should be utilised for reconstructing the ancient geography of India. Fleet[4] prepared a list of topographical

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[1] *I. H. Q.* IX, 470–478.
[2] *G. T.*;
[3] *I. A.*, XIV;
[4] *Ibid.* Vol. XXII, p. 169;

names in *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira and J. E. Abbott did the same in the case of the *Bhāgvata-purāṇa*. Subsequently, H. V. Trivedi[1] attempted the identification of the geographical names in the case of the *Agni-purāṇa*. But S. N. Mujumdar in an Appendix to his edition of Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* has made a valuable contribution towards a critical study of the geography of ancient India as occurring in the Purāṇas. And the subsequent writers on the subject have, with slight variations, adopted the same scheme.

15. *Two geographical schemes in the Purāṇas, Geographical scheme about Ancient India :*—But in this regard, it should be borne in mind that the Purāṇas have two geographical schemes, one for the world and the other for ancient India. As regards the scheme of the world-geography, the scholars are unanimous that the scheme belongs to the domain of mythology. But with regard to the geography of ancient India, the scholars opine that the geographical scheme adopted in the *Purāṇas* is based on actuality. Hence, let us confine ourselves to the geographical scheme connected with ancient India. In this regard, two different theories are propounded.

17. *Greater India Theory :*—According to the first view, the nine divisions of Bhāratavarṣa are with reference to Greater India, as S. B. Chaudhari following S. N. Mujumdar[2] has suggested. The supporters of this view identify the nine

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[1] *I. H. Q.* Vol. IX, pp. 470–478.

[2] *IA*, LIX, 1930 p. 224; So we see that the nine Dvīpas implied India proper and some of the islands of the far east and those of the Indian ocean, all of which came under the general designation of Bhārata-varṣa. The scheme of the nine Dvīpas, was, therefore, an attempt to show the geographical connection of India proper with the far east which at the time was sufficiently impregnated with Indian culture and religion. The result was the geographical conception of the nine *Dvīpas* of Bhāratvarṣa sat for by the Purāṇas intended to bring into closer union with India proper the tslands of the East and other islands. The Dvīpas were not therefore divisions of India proper.

Dvīpas of Bhāratavarṣa *viz.* Indra, Kaserumān, Tāmravarṇa, Gabhastimān, Nāga, Saumya, Gandharva, Varuṇa and Kumārī[1] with the various parts of greater India, India proper also being included in the scheme.

18. *Mujumdar's view* :—S. N. Mujumdar begins with the ninth Dvīpa, which is described in the Purāṇas merely as *Sāgara-saṁvṛtta* (sea-girt), no particular name being assigned to it. He relies on the evidence of Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[2] that in the ninth Dvīpa were situated seven mountains—Vindhya, Pāriyātra, Śuktimān, Ṛkṣa, Mahendra, Ṣahya and Malaya. Combining this with the account of the ninth Dvīpa in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*,[3] according to which, in the east of the ninth Dvīpa there are the Kirātas and in the west the Yavanas, he, at once, comes to the conclusion that by Kumārī-dvīpa of the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, which is ninth in the Purāṇic list, India proper is connoted. To justify his conclusion, he suggests that the word *Dvīpa* should not be taken in its current sense, but in the sense in which Pāṇini[4] takes it. Thus, Kumārīdvīpa is identified with India proper. Indra Dvīpa is identified with Burma on the evidence of Indra being the *Digpāla* (guardian deity) of the east. Support is drawn for this view from the mention of a certain river rising in the Himālaya flowing eastward and then falling in the salt sea near Indra-dvīpa.[5] Ptolemy's Indra Pathai,[6] which is located to the south of Assam, is also identified with Indra-dvīpa and thus with Burma.

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[1] 'Kumārī' according to the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* and *Sāgarasaṁvṛtta* according to the Purāṇas.

[2] *Gaikwad Oriental Series*, No. 1, p. 92;

[3] LVII, 5-11;

[4] Surrounded by water on two sides.

[5] *Mats.* CXXI, 57;

[6] *A. I.* p. 22;

19. Kaserumat is identified with the Malaya peninsula on the flimsy evidance of Keserus abounding in Singapur. Gandharva is identified with Gāndhāra and the valley of the Kabul river with a small tract of land to the east of the Indus. Gabhastimat, Nāga and Saumya are respectively identified with Laccadive, Maldive or Erunaculan in the S. W. Salsette, Elephanta (meaning the same as Nāga or Elephant), and Kathiawar (Saurashtra) and Cutch in the west, on the basis of their directions as suggested in the Purāṇic list (they are located in S. W. W. and N. W. respectively). And Varuṇa in N. E. is identified with the Indian colony in Central Asia.[1]

20. *Chaudhari's View* :—Shashibhusan Chaudhari[2] adopts the same line of argument about the identification of the nine Dvīpas. But in details he differs from Mujumdar. With regard to the identification of Kumārī-dvīpa (India proper), Indra-dvīpa (Burma), Kaserumat (Malaya peninsula), Tāmravarṇa[3] (Ceylon), Gabhastimān,[4] Nāga,[5] and Gandharva,[6] he merely adopts the suggestion of S. N. Mujumdar. But he identifies Varuṇa with Borneo, and Saumya with Siam, perhaps, on the basis of similarity of sound, of course, not a correct historical method. Thus, Chaudhari also suggests that the nine Dvīpas of the Purāṇic list are the various divisions of Greater India including India proper, the eastern archipelago and Central Asian regions, where Hindu culture had spread in the earlier and subsequent centuries of the Christian era.

21. *Ctiticism* :—With regard to the theory about the

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[1] *A. G. I. Appendix.* pp. 749–754;

[2] *IA.* Vol. LIX (1930), pp. 204–208; 224–226;

[3] The ancient Greeks called it Taprobone and Asoka refers to it as Tamhapanni. *I. A.* Vol. LIX (1930), pp. 204–208, 224–226;

[4] Laccadive, Malidive;

[5] Islands of Salsette and Elephanta.

[6] Gāndhāra.

identification of the Purāṇic list of nine Dvīpas discussed above, it may be suggested that it is based on insufficient grounds, and misconception of certain facts. On the meagre evidence of Rājaśekhara, Kumārīdvīpa is identified with India proper. But an effort is not made to ascertain as to what the author of the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* meant by Kumārīdvīpa. Rājaśekhara[1] clearly says that the mountains Vindhya, Pāriyātra (the Aravallis), Śuktimān, Ṛkṣa, Malaya and Mahendra are situated in Kumārīdvīpa. All these mountains with the exception of Pāriyātra belong to southern India; hence it may be suggested that for Rājaśekhara south India is Kumarī-dvīpa owing to the Kanyākumārī temple in the south. By no stretch of imagination, can Kumārīdvīpa be identified with India proper. Merely because the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* suggests that in the east of the Dvīpa there are the Kirātas and in the west the Yavanas, it is not justifiable to suggest that it may be identified with India proper. Here, it should be borne in mind that by the time the two works were composed, the terms Kirāta and Yavana did not bear any racial significance. The terms respectively signified merely uncultured mountaineers and uncouth foreigners. With the exception of Indradvīpa and Tāmravarṇa, which may have some justification for their identification, the identification of Gabhastimān, Nāga, Saumya, Varuṇa, Gandharva and Kaserumān with different parts of India or greater India is merely based on imagination. Chaudhri also follows the same line of argument and on the basis of similarity of sound identifies Saumya with Siam and Varuṇa with Barneo. Thus, the greater India theory cannot be acceptable to scholars, as it is based on flimay and invalid grounds.

22. *Indian Empire theory, Diksitar's view* :—Another interpretation of the Purāṇic nine Dvīpas of Bhāratavarṣa is suggested by Ram chandra Diksitar.[2] According to him,

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[1] *KM*. p. 192;

[2] *SAV*. p. 17, ff.

the nine Dvīpas are mentioned with reference to the Indian Empire, including Burma (as under the British rule). "It would appear that the nine divisions refer to the Purāṇic geographical divisions of ancient India continent which included Burma." But the nine divisions are termed Dvīpa. We must understand the term in the sense in which Pāṇini, the grammarian, uses[1] it. Like Mujumdar, he identifies Indra Dvīpa with Burma and connects Indra's elephant Airāvata with the Irāvatī and Indra, the guardian deity of the east, with that direction. Thus, Indra Dvīpa is identified with Burma. Kaserumat is identified with eastern Bengal and Assam, because in the opinion of Dikshitar, Kazeh or Kaseh, Kraseh (Kasay) and Kassay of Ptolemy[2] is Kaseru of the Purāṇas, the former being the corrupt from of the latter. Support for this identification is also sought from the fact that the hills separating Manipur from the Assam valley are known as Khasia hills. Thus, Kaserumat is assigned to eastern Bengal and Assam. Tāmravarṇa is identified with Ceylon and in this connection R. Dikshitar remarks,[3] "Tāmravarṇa is mentioned as the third in order. It has been shown conclusively that in centuries before the Christian era, the island of Ceylon was called Taprohene. That it was a designation of the Sumatra island is obvious." Hence, Ceylon is Taprohene major and Sumatra is Taprohene minor.[4] Tāmrvarṇa of the Purāṇa is the island of Ceylon and cannot be Sumatra as it is far away from the Indian continent. With regard to this identification, there is some justification due to the availability of independent testimony, the evidence of Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmaṁsā*.[5] Kumārīdvīpa is, perhaps, rightly identified

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1. *Ibid*. pp. 17, 18.
2. *RP* p. 795;
3. *SAV*. pp. 18-19;
4. *RP*. 1909, p. 651;
5. p. 92;

with South India as the mountains assigned to it by Rājaśekhara are all, with one exception only, in south India, the Vindhya ranges forming its northern boundaries.[1] The identification of the remaining five Dvīpas is not based on any tangible and substantial evidence. It is asserted that just as Indradvīpa, as identified with Burma (Indra being the Digpāla of the east), is regarded as the eastern-most end of Bhāratavarṣa, similarly, Varuṇa being the Digpāla of the west, Varuṇa Dvīpa may be regarded as the western-most end of Bhāratavarṣa. The remaining five Dvīpas are regarded as situated somewhere between the two ends. As Varuṇa Dvīpa is assigned to the west of Gāndhāra, Gandharva Dvīpa is identified with this Gāndhāra. Nāga-dvīpa is identified with Elephanta island (Bombay), because Nāga means elephant. Then support is also sought from some Tamil tradition, which locates Nāgadvīpa in the neighbourhood of Gandharva, but certainly the Elephanta island of Bombay cannot be regarded as being in the neighbourhood of Kandahar (Gāndhāra). Saumya and Gabhastimān are identified with Bengal and U. P., and Delhi and Rajasthan respectively, merely because the meaning of the words Saumya (moon, cool) and Gabhastimān (Sun, hot and dry) agrees with the nature of the soil of those tracts. In the words of Dikshitar "two more divisions remain and these are Gabhastimān and Saumya, which must be territorial units lying to the east of Gāndhāra and to the west of Assam and possibly to the north of the Vindhyas. Saumya may mean moon or cool and moist. Gabhastimān may mean sun or hot and dry. It may, therefore, be surmised that these divisions are after the nature of the soil. Saumya may roughly correspond to Bengal and the United provinces to the east of Delhi, aud Gabhastimān to the Delhi province and the states of Rajputana."[2] Thus, the identification of Saumya and Gabhatimān cannot be taken seriously.

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[1] *SAV*. pp. 18–19, *G. D.* pp. 149, 159, 196; *JBORS*. 1922; pp. 41–43.

[2] *SAV*. p. 184.

23. Pargiter in his English Translation of the *Mārkandeya Purāṇa* has tried to identify the various geographical names occurring in that Purāṇa. He thinks[1] that the ninth Dvīpa surrounded by the sea should be understood to mean India. Then, he goes on to identify the seven mountain ranges in it. The mountain range Mahendra is identified with the portion of the Eastern Ghats between the Godāvarī and Mahānadī rivers and the hills in the south of Berar; Malaya is the southern portion of the Western Ghats. The Sahya may be identified with the northern portion of the Western Ghats. The southern portion of the Eastern Ghats and the Mysore hills may be associated with the Śuktimat range. By the term Vindhya, the whole of modern Vindhyas is not suggested but only the portion in the east of Bhopal. Pāriyātra also called Pāripātra is identified with the western portion of the modern Vindhyas in the west of Bhopal. This might include the Aravalli hills in Rajasthan.[2] Pargiter[3] tries to identify other smaller hills and the various rivers rising from them as also the peoples inhabiting various regions.[4]

25. D. R. Patil[5] realises the complexity of the problem of identifying the geographical names especially the *Dvīpas* of of the Purāṇas and refers to contradictory views. He, however, tries to identify place names and tribes occurring in the *Vāyu-purāṇa*[6]. He refers to the nine subdivisions of Bhāratavarṣa, seven Kulaparvatas etc.[7] H. R. Mankad[8] tries to identify the seven Dvīpas as also the oceans surrounding them. His

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[1] *Mark. T.* p. 284, note.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 284–289, notes;

[3] *Ibid.* pp 290–305, n.;

[4] *Ibid.* p. 384, notes;

[5] CHV p. 241;

[6] *Ibid.* pp. 346–386;

[7] *Ibid.* p. 269;

[8] *ABORI*, Vol XVIII, pp. 225–240;

identification may be summed up as follows—Jambu (Asia), Kṣāroda (Indian Ocean), Plakṣa (Asia minor enlarged), Ikṣurasoda (Persian Gulf, Red sea, Aegean sea, Black sea, Caspian sea), Śālmalī (Africa), Suroda (Mediterranean), Kuśa (Europe), Ghṛtoda (Arctic), Śāla (South America), Kṣīroda (Pacific), Puṣkara (Australia), and Śuddhoda (Antarctic). After the last named ocean lies the Suvarṇabhūmi (Antarctica) with Mount Lokāloka in its midst. The arguments advanced in support of this view[1] are not convincing.

36. *Criticism* :—Having examined the different theories about the identification of the Purāṇic list of the nine Dvīpas, it may be stated that the efforts in the direction have not achieved any substantial result. The problem is generally approached with certain proceneeived notions, in the light of which the Purāṇic statements are interpreted. Before taking up the question of identifying the geographical names in the Purāṇas, it is essential to understand the very nature of this encyclopaedic literature in its chronological setting. In the Purāṇas, matter belonging to different cultural and chronological strata is mixed together. It needs a good deal of sorting before a definite conclusion can be reached. The *Bhuvanakoṣa* tradition may have originated long before most of the Purāṇas came to be finalised. In course of time, the tradition may have got mixed up with mythology etc. before it came to be adopted in the various Purāṇas, which in their turn may have enlarged it by subsequent additions. This process of gradual amplification of the geographical tradition may easily be discerned by a comparative and critical study of the various Purāṇas. Here, we have confined eurselves to the geographical data available from the *Agni-purāṇa*.

27. *Conclusion* :—A critical study of the place names, rivers, mountains, countries etc. and other account of topographical interest lying interspersed in the *Agni-purāṇa* gives

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[1] *Ibid.* pp. 231 ff.

an idea of the geographical knowledge of the Purāṇic author. The names that occnr in the account of the places of pilgrimage or in other context help us in preparing a map of India as known to the author of the *Purāṇa.* In the north, the Himalayas formed the boundary of India. Certain semi-mythological countries, generally assigned in Sanskrit literature to the Himalayan regions, are also mentioned *viz.* Kimpuruṣavarṣa, Ilāvṛtta, Meru etc. Two names Himavat[1], and Himācala[2] occur, which are respectively assigned to the south of Meru and the north of Bhārata. These two may easily be identified with the Himsalyas. Madhyadeśa, which often occurs in the Buddhist and Hindu epigraphic and literary records, is mentioned, which may correspond with modern Gangetic plain comprising U. P. Various countries situoted in the Madhy-deśa also find reference *viz* Yaudhaya, Kurupāñcāla, Śūrasena, Madra, Mathurā, Kāśī and the river Sarayū. In the north-west region, countries like Kāśmīra, Bāhlīka, Gāndhāra, Lampaka, Yavana, Turuṣka, etc. are mentioned, which may easily be identified with their modern equivalents.

28. In the western India, Śakas, Mlecchas and Lāṭa are mentioned. A reference is made to Dakṣiṇāpatha, which also occurs in literary and epigraphic records, corresponding with the modern Deccan, in which the mountains Vindhyas, the rivers Tāpī and Narmadā, Varadā (Wardha), and the countries Kunta, Vidarbha, Navarāṣṭra, Cedi etc. are mentioned. In the south India may be located the countries of Ambaṣṭha, Aśmaka, Kamboja, Kaliṅga, Āndhra, Karṇāta, Dravida, Simhala, and the rivers Kāverī, Godāvarī, Chandrabhāgā ete. To the east of India, Aṅga, Magadha, Puṇḍra, Vaṅga, Kolat, and the uncivilized people Kirātas, as also the river Brahmputrā are assigned.

29. Thus, with the help of these names, it may be possible

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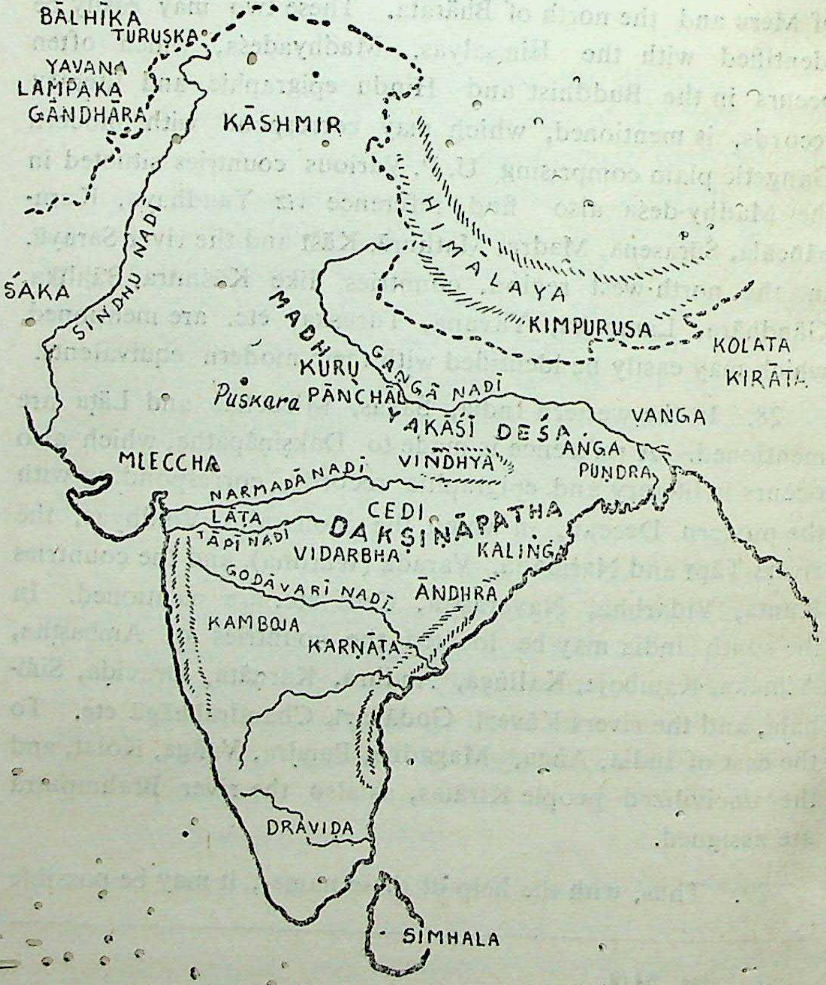
[1] *Agn.* 54/9;

[2] *Ibid.* 55/19.

to form an idea of India as known to the *Agni-purāṇa*, which comprised India of today including the Himalayas in the north and the region of N. Western India (including Pakistan) bordering on the Indo-Afghan border, the Mlecchas and the Śakas in the west and Ceylon in the south.

Map of India

Based on the Geographical data available
from the Agnipurāṇa.


BĀLHĪKA
TURUṢKA
YAVANA
LAMPAKA
GĀNDHĀRA
KĀSHMIR
SINDHU NADĪ
ŚAKA
HIMĀLAYA
KIMPURUṢA
KOLATA
KIRĀTA
MADH
KURU
GAṄGĀ NADĪ
Puskara
PĀNCHĀL
YA
KĀŚĪ DEŚA
VANGA
ANGA
PUNDRA
MLECCHA
VINDHYA
NARMADĀ NADĪ
CEDI
LĀṬA
TĀPĪ NADĪ
DAKṢINĀPATHA
VIDARBHA
KALINGA
GODĀVARĪ NADĪ
ĀNDHRA
KAMBOJA
KARṆĀṬA
DRAVIDA
SIMHALA

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL DATA

1. *History in the Purāṇas* :—History in the scientific sense of the term cannot be obtained from the Purāṇas much less from the *Agni-purāṇa*. Nevertheless, much historical matter lies scattered in the genealogical lists and the various Ākhyānas with historical substratum. Information thus available from this important source is not yet fully and properly utilised by the scholars of ancient Indian history, who have mostly confined themselves merely to the evidence deduced from the archaeological sources mainly consisting of epigraphy and numismatics. But these sources cannot be of much use for the earlier period of Indian history for which reliance has to be placed on tradition as embodied in the literary documents. To an unbiassed mind, it will be obvious how while reconstructing the history of ancient India, epigraphy, numismatics etc. do not take us any far. They can guide us to the third or the fourth century before Christ. For an earlier period, they are utterly helpless, and tradition alone is useful, which thus becomes the only guide for the reconstruction of pre-Mauryan history. It is more so for the pre-Bhārata-war period of Indian history.

2. *Pargiter's efforts, Importance of Purāṇic traditions* :—Thanks to the untiring efforts and zeal of Pargiter, who firmly established the importance of traditions as embodied in the Purāṇas for the earlier period of Indian history. But to deduce historical facts from traditions embodied in religious or profane literature is not an easy task. Those assigned the task of preserving traditions were sometimes led away by religious consideration and poetic exuberance. Hence, with the progress of time, traditions got mixed up with what is quite foreign to the purpose of a historian. But a careful

and comparative study of the various literary works including the Purāṇas may surely help us in getting some authentic history. In this respect, traditions as embodied in the Purāṇas are of much consequence, which help us immensely in preparing a skeleton of the pre-Bhārata-war history of India as already noticed. Purāṇic evidence in some cases is also supported by the Vedic testimony. Thus, the *Ṛgveda* helps us, to some extent, in the verification of the Purāṇic evidence.

3. *Two periods of ancient Indian History, (i) Pre-Bhārata-war and (ii) Post-Bhārata-war* :—On the basis of the Purāṇic evidence, the history of ancient India may be divided into two broad periods, (i) Pre-Bhārata-war period and (ii) Post-Bhārata-war period. In the language of the Purāṇas themselves, these periods may be called *Bhūta* (past) and *Bhaviṣya* (future). The Purāṇas assign the kings of the Bhārata-war[1] age to the present time, describing them in the present tense, while those gone before are described in the past and those coming after in the future. It may be concluded from this that the great Bhārata war was the starting point for the historico-mythological accounts of the Purāṇas.

4. *Historical basis of the Ākhyānas* :—The genealogical lists and the various Ākhyānas about the great kings of yore in the Purāṇas supply us much material, as already observed, for the reconstruction of pre-Bhārata war history. The genealogical lists are some-times interspersed with certain historical facts connected with the life of some heroic kings and those facts are shrouded in the language of bardic tales. The earlier Purāṇas like the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Matsya* etc. introduce such heroic kings with the expressions like *Śrutam*,[2] *Anuśuśrumaḥ*,[3] *Itinaḥśrutam*,[4] *Atrānuvaṁśaḥ*[5] *Ślokaḥ*, *Yasya*

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[1] *AIHT*. pp. 52–53;

[2] *Vā*, 65/75; 99/190–191; *Bḍ*. II, 32, 122; *Br*. vai, X, 56.

[3] *Vā*. 42/174; 96/123; *Bḍ*. II, 36, 201; III, 71, 124; *Br*. vai, IV, 95;

[4] *Vā*. 94/51, *Mats*., 25/4; [5] *Viṣṇ*. IV, 22, 12–13;

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Ślokodyāpi gīyate[1] etc. This is how the various Ākhyānas, most of which are found in the earlier Purāṇas, may be properly appreciated in their historical perspective.

5. *Date of Bhārata war* :—In view of the historical importance of the Bhārata war as evidenced above, the question of its date also claims our attention. But the date of the Bhārata-war is a very terse problem in view of the scanty information available in this regard. Our only source of information is the date as deduced from the genealogical lists in the Purāṇas, which are defective in so many ways. The lists, unless supported by some other evidence, cannot give us any definite clue as to the date of the great war. As long as we are not better-equipped, we cannot arrive at any finality about it. That is why so much divergence is noticeable among the scholars about its date.

6. *Traditional view, astronomical data* :—According to the tradition as preserved in the *Mahābhārata* itself, the Kali-yuga started at the time of the great war or with the accession of Yudhiṣṭhira or with the death of Kṛṣṇa. On the basis of astronomical considerations, it is supposed that the Kali age strarted in the year 3100[2] B. C. Hence some scholars assign the Bhārata war to about 3000 B. C. Some scholars, with the help of the position of the constellations and planets as mentioned in the *Mahābhārata,* try to infer the date, but owing to so much interpolation in the great epic even here one is not on sure grounds.

7. *Views of Raychaudhari, Pargiter, Altekar and Jayaswal:*– On the basis of the comparative study of the genealogical lists in the Vedic literature and those of the kings of the post-Bhārata-war period before the rise of the Śaiśunāga dynasty in the Purāṇas, Raychaudhari[3] assigns the great war to the 9th century B. C. Pargiter[4] in his own way fixes it somewhere

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[1] *Ibid.* IV, 11, 15–16.

[2] *JBHU* Vol. IV. 223–218;

[3] *PHAI* pp. 27–29;

[4] *AIHT.* p. 182;

about 950 B. C. He assigns 26 reigns between Adhisīmakṛṣṇa, the grand-son of Janamejaya II, and the king Nanda, each reign is roughly allotted 18 years. Dr. Altekar[1] on the basis of the genealogical lists of the Ṛṣis in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads assigns the war to 1400 B. C., whereas Jayaswal[2] on the basis of the Purāṇic evidence takes the war to B. C. 1424.

8. *Lower limit* :—Pargiter's view supplies the lower limit for the war. It cannot be later than that date; it may however be earlier. Thus, it is evident that there is no consensus of opinion among the scholars about the date of the great Bhārata war.

9. *Two ruling dynasties in early times, solar, and lunar* :—A critical study of the important Mahāpurāṇas, the *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu*, *Matsya*, *Brahmāṇḍa* etc., as also of the traditions embodied in the epics reveals the existence, at a very romote period, of two royal dynasties ruling over India, which traced their descent from the sun and the moon, hence, called the solar (Sūryavaṁśa) and the lunar (Candravaṁśa) dynasties.[3] Even today, the Kṣatriyas tracing their descent from them may be seen. It is difficult to put reliance on this legend, but an important historical fact may be deduced from it. This legendary account of the dynasties may rightly suggest that they were too old to be remembered aright. Their origins were rooted in the hoary past, but all the same, they were to be remembered and their achievements to be extolled. Too much of regard for all that is old may be one of the causes of their being connected with the sun and the moon.

10. *Solar dynasty the earlier, Ikṣvāku's and Nimi's lines* :—Of the two, the Solar end the Lunar dynasties which is prior and which is posterior is a question, which deserves to be

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[1] *JBHU*. Vol. IV, pp. 213-218. [2] *AIHT*. p. 182,

[3] *Vā*. 85/2-4, 88/8-213, 91/95-96, *Viṣṇ*. IV, 1, 4-5; *Mats*. 12/25-27, *Bd*. III, 65 22-28, 75.

answered for a correct historical perpective. A thorough and critical study of the Purāṇic accounts of the two dynasties helps us to solve this riddle to some extent. The manner in which the kings of the solar dynasty are described seems to suggest that the Purāṇic chronicler had very meagre material for the account of this dynasty. Of the ten sons of Manu, only Ikṣvāku's line could be preserved intact till the Mahābhārata war, and about ninety-eight kings ruled till that[1] time. An account of another branch descending from Nimi, the younger brother of Vikukṣi (Ikṣvāku's second son), is also preserved. This dynasty was famous for its philosopher[2] kings. The names of the earlier kings of the Ikṣvāku line generally end in *Aśva* (horse), sometimes *Ratha* (chariot) also forms a part of their names. Constant war-fare enhanced the importance of horse and chariot in the eyes of the early Aryans. In the Boghâzkoi inscription in Asis Minor a reference to rearing of horses occurs, in which connection Indian numerals e. g. *Aika, Teras, Satta, Nava,* etc. are mentioned.[3] Similarly, the Aryan Hyksos (Ikṣvākus ?) were the first to introduce chariot in ancient Egypt.[4] All this points to the age of conquest. It may be inferred that the solar dynasty flourished at a time when the Aryans had still retained their warlike ways of life and had to fight their way into India.

11. *Lunar dynasty the later, its various branches* :—But when we come to the Lunar dynasty, we find the Purāṇic bards on better grounds, for the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa,* at the very outset, remarks about the dynasty, "the dynasty to be described is very important and decorated with illustrious kings like Nahuṣa, Yayāti, Kārtavīrya Arjuna etc., well known for their exploits and valorous deeds."[5] The Purāṇas supply as with genealogical lists of the kings belonging to different branches of this dynasty, *viz.* the Yādavas with their off-shoots the Hai-

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[1] *AIHT* p. 257. Vā Chap. 88;

[2] *Viṣṇ.* IV, 5, 33–34;

[3] *Ār.* pp. 18, 21;

[4] *GHW.* pp. 15–16;

[5] *A. I. H. T.* pp. 41, 85–88.

hayas, the Vaidarbhas, the Cedis, the Sātvats, etc. the Druhyus with their offshoot the Gāndharas; the Ānvas with their offshoots the Uśīnaras, the Śibis, the Aṅgas, the Kaliṅgas etc., and the Pauravas with their offshoots the Bharatas, the Pāñcālas, the Kauravas, the Pāṇḍavas, the Bārhadrathas, the Cedis etc., The existence of details about the Lunar dynasty may be due to its being not so very old as the Solar. Besides, it is scarcely that the names of the Lunar kings end in *Aśva* (horse) or *Ratha* (chariot). This may suggest that a period of conquest was over and that of consolidation had commenced, as also the process of Brahmanisation became clearly discernible.

12. *Pargiter's support, his erroneous theory of the Ailas being Aryans* :—Pargiter also in a way supports the view propounded above but he draws queer conclusion from it. While admitting that the kings of the Solar dynasty or the Mānvas as he calls them, were earlier than those of the Lunar or the Ailas, he suggests that the latter were the Aryan invaders from beyond the Himalayas and the former the Dravidians, the sons of the soil.[1] These Ailas or the Aryans, according to that learned authority, established themselves at Pratiṣṭhāna (near allahabad) and thence proceeded westwards conquering the Dravidian territories. But a critical study of the Purāṇas does not lend support to this view. No where do we find any reference to the Mānvas and the Ailas as two different cultural entities struggling for existence. All the Solar and the Lunar kings were equally Aryans. Besides, the *Ṛgveda*, the very life-breath of the Aryans, has some Solar kings as seers.[2] Occasionally, even matrimonial alliances were established between the two dynasties. Hence, Pargiter's view that the Mānvas were Dravidians finds no support in the Purāṇas.

13. *Purāṇas historical material, old genealogies* :—Before taking for consideration the historical data as available from

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[1] *AIHT*. pp. 295–296.

[2] Māndhātā Yauvanāśva, *Ṛg*. X, 134, 1–6.

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the *Agni-purāṇa*, it is necessary to get an idea of what is supplied by the Purāṇas in general for the reconstruction of ancient Indian history. For, the *Agni-purāṇa* not being one of the earlier Purāṇas, is not expected to give earlier and more reliable version of the genealogical and historical accounts. The genealogical lists are given in nearly all the Purāṇas excepting a few.[1] Of these the *Vāyu*, being chronoligically the earliest, is most reliable and its version of the genealogical lists may be deemed to be nearest the original. The *Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya, Viṣṇu, Harivaṁśa, Brahma* etc. are also important in this respect, for they have also preserved the old dynastic lists not much different from those in the *Vāyu*.

14. *Comparative study of dyauastic lists* :—As a result of a comparative study of the dynastic lists preserved in the Purāṇas, Pargiter has come to the conclusion that the genealogical lists in the Purāṇas are based on three versions *viz*. *Vāyu* version, *Harivaṁśa* version and *Matsya* version. For our present purpose, we may merely regard the *Vāyu* account as the earliest and hence most important, and as such it may be regarded as a criterion for judging the accounts in other Purāṇas. Whatever the differences from the *Vāyu* all that may, perhaps, be due to exigencies of time and place, for it is very difficult to establish that three main versions were handed down from the earlier times, which were, in course of time, adopted by the *Vāyu, Mastya* and *Harivaṁśa* respectively.

15. *Political disintegration and the process of unification in North India* :—A critical study of the genealogical account of the various ruling dyanasties grouped under two, the Solar and the Lunar, helps us in inferring that from earliest times north India was parcelled out among various ruling dynasties, but at the same time the process of unification had also commenced, as may be gathered from the references to Cakravartin kings with their career of conquests. The

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[1] *Varāha, Vāmana, Skanda, Nāradīya, Brahma-vaivarta* and *Bhaviṣya*.

12 A.P.

Purāṇas make an effort to unite the two ruling dynasties mythologically by tracing their origin to Manu (the first man), generally regarded as fourth in descent from Brahman. The number of Manu's sons differs in different Purāṇas; it ranges from eight to ten.[1] Of his sons, Ikṣvāku, Śaryāti and Diṣṭa succeeded in prolonging their lines in the form of reigning dynasties. With regard to the other sons also, some information is gathered. Kārūṣa gave rise to the family of Kārūṣa Kṣatriyas. Nābhāga, the son of Diṣṭa, became Vaiśya, while his fifth descendant Rathītara gave rise to the family of Brahmanised Kṣatriyas called Āṅgirasas. Pṛṣadhra, the youngest, became Śūdra, having killed his preceptor's cow. Thus, an effort is made here to trace the origin of the four Varṇas to Manu's sons.

16. *Manu's daughter Ilā and the origin of Lunar dynasty:*— Manu's daughter Ilā,[2] who changed sex now and then, is responsible for the origin of the lunar dynasty. About her metamorphosis, an interesting story is recorded in the Purāṇas. Through the favour of Mitrā–varuṇa, she was transformed into a male called Sudyumna but through the working of evil fate, Sudyumna again became female and loitered about the hermitage of Budha, the son of Soma. Budha fell in love with her and Purūravas was the result of their union. Ilā once again became Sudyumna and had three sons Utkala, Gaya and Vinata. Through the intervention of Vasiṣṭha, Sudyumna, but in reality Ilā, got Pratiṣṭhāna from her paternal property. This Pratiṣṭhāna was given over to Purūravas, whose desoendants spread in all the directions.

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1. *Vā.* 85/3–4; *Bḍ.* III, 60, 2–3; *Brah.* 7/1–2; *Hari* 10/613–614; *Liṅ.* 1/65, 17–19; *Śi.* VII, 60, 1–2; *Kū.* I, 20, 4–6; *Agn.* 272/5–7; also *Vā* 64/29–30; *Bḍ.* II, 38, 30–32; *Viṣṇ.* IV, 1, 5; *Gar.* I, 138, 2; *Mark.* 79/11–12; 111/4–5, *Bhāg.* IX, 1, 11–12, *Mats.* 11/104.

2. *Vā.* 85/27; *Mats.* 11/40; 12/10, *Bḍ.* III, 60, 27.

17. *Purūravas, Ilā's son, historical personality* :—The foregoing account of Ilā's romance is a queer mixture of history and legendary myth. On the testimony of the *Ṛgveda* and other literature, as also the manner in which the Purāṇas have given his account, it may be suggested that Purūravas was a historieal personality, who, perhaps, took pride in being calleb *Aila*, the son of Ilā. This might suggest that his grestness was due to his mother, from whom he must have inherited vast and rich dominions. A parallel may be sought in the case of Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty, who prided in being called, "the son of the daughter of the Licchavi family"[1], because his greatness was due to his mother's exalted position. Perhaps, in the Purānas Purūravas is the only king to be mentioned after mother's name. Ilā's greatness may be inferred from the legendary thread woven round her personality.

18. *Lengendary thread to connect Solar and Lunar dynasties*—In the description of Ilā as the daughter of Manu and consequently real sister of Ikṣvāku, the illutrious founder of the Solar Dynasty, an effort is made at connecting the Solar and the Lunar dynasties with a legendary thread. Because the Aryan genius could not tolerate diversity as a reality. The doctrine of unity behind all diversity was applied in this case, and consequently Ilā being Manu's danghter came to be regarded as the real sister of Ikṣvāku, between whom and her may, perhaps, have intervened many a century.

19. *Solar and Lunar dynasties, several ruling lines* :—The Purāṇas in general take note of the important ruling dynasties grouped under two, the Solar and the Lunar, and give their genealogical lists, sometimes the heroic kings generally known as Cakravartins are lauded and a reference is made to their heroism in the *Anuvaṁśa Ślokas*. The important ruling dynasties of the Solar line as known to the Purāṇas in general are those of Śaryāti, Diṣṭa, Ikṣvāku and Nimi. Of these, Ikṣvāku's

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[1] *GI*. Ins. No. 1.

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dynasty ruling at Ayodhyā was the most important. Next in importance was the dynasty of Nimi, ruling at Mithilā and well-known for its philosopher kings. The dynastiss of Śaryāti and Diṣta ruling respeciively in the west and the east with the capital at Viśālā were of less importance, not many of their kings are mentioned in the Purāṇas.

20. *Lunar line* :—The Lunar line founded by Purūravas continued under Āyus, Nahuṣa, Yayāti, etc., Yayātī's five sons, it appears, played a dominant role in the political history of early India. His eldest son Yadu laid the foundations of the Yādava dynasty in the south, which, in course of time, had several of its branches ruling over various principalties. The Yādavas may be traced even to the present day. Anu, the fourth son of Yayāti, also founded a dynasty, which in the reign of the eighth king Uśīnara branched off into two, Uśīnara confining himself to the northwest and Titikṣu, his brother, to north-east. Pūru, the youngest son of Yayāti, continued the main line and founded the illustrious Paurava dynasty, which confined itself to Madhyadeśa or north India. Thus, in nutshell, these are the ruling dynasties of which the genealogical lists are maintained in the Purāṇas.

21. *Agni-purāṇa and genealogical account*—With regard to the reconstruction of ancient Indian history, the *Agni-purāṇa* by itself cannot be so important as the earlier Purāṇas like the *Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya* etc. Pargiter summing up the position of the *Agni-purāṇa* in this respect states[1], "Three other Purāṇas contain all or nearly all the genealogies, the *Garuḍa, Agni*, and *Bhāgavata*. Their accounts are late recompilations, the *Bhāgavata* being one of the very latest about the 9th century A.D. They do not reproduce any of the old varses except rarely but have restated the genealogies in fresh verses, generally in more condensed form. The *Garuḍa* and *Agni* give merely bald pedigrees with hardly any incidental allusions. The *Garuḍa* and *Bhāgvata* follow the *Vāyu* tradition as regards the Aikṣvākus

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[1] *A. I. H. T.* p, 80.

and the *Agni* follows the *Matsya* tradition. As regards the other dynasties, all the three follow in a general way the common tradition." Thus, it will appear that the historical contents of the *Agni-purāṇa* reveal the adoption, in general, of the historical scheme as evolved by the earlier Purāṇas with slight alterations here and there and errors of commission and omission.

22. *Manu: Originator of the Solar and Lunar dynasties*—The *Agni–purāṇa* adopts the general Purāṇic view that Manu through his sons and a daughter was the originator of the two ancient dynasties, the Solar and the Lunar. Manu is described as a semi–mythological being, fifth in descent from Hari, the god Viṣṇu. Hari created the lotus-born Brahmā from whom sprang Marīci, whose son was the patriarch Kāśyapa. This Kāśyapa had Vivasvat, the god sun, as his son, whom Saṁjñā bore the twins, Yama and Yamī,

23. *Sons of Manu*—The *Agnī-purāṇa* is not correct in stating that Manu had eight sons. For the verses[1] giving the names of Manu's sons are beyond doubt defective which run :

Manorvaivasvatasyāsanputrā vai na ca tatsamāḥ,
Ikṣvākuścaiva Nābhāgo Dhṛṣṭaḥ Śaryātireva ca.
Nariṣyantastathā Prāṁśurnābhāgādyaṣṭa[2] *sattamāḥ,*
Kārūṣaśca Pṛṣadhraśca Ayodhyāyāṁ mahābalāḥ.

Similar verses occur in the *Brahma-purāṇa :* [3] which read—

Manorvaivasvatasyāsanputrā vai nava tatsamāḥ,
Ikṣvākuścaiva Nābhāgo Dhṛṣṭaḥ Śaryātireva tu.
Nariṣyantaśca ṣaṣṭho vai Prāṁśu Riṣṭaśca Saptamaḥ,
Kārūṣaśca Pṛṣadhraśca navaite muni-sattamāḥ.

A comparative study of these verses from the *Agni-purāṇa* and the *Brahma–purāṇa* clearly shows that the *Agni* text is quite defective, whereas the *Brahma* text is nearer the original. All the Purāṇas that mention Manu's sons by name, excepting a few, clearly assert that Manu had nine sons. The *Viṣṇu*, *Matsya* and *Padma* assign ten sons to Manu. The *Viṣṇu* has wrongly broken the name Nābhāgodiṣṭa in two as Nābhāga and Diṣṭa, whereas the *Matsya* and *Padma* have added Ila as the eldest son, who later on became a girl in the form of Ilā. Thus, the Purāṇas are almost unanimous in affirming that Manu had nine sons. Hence, the *Agni* version cannot be correct when it gives the number of Manu's sons as eight. The wrong list is, no doubt, based on the more correct text of the *Brahma*, inaccuracies in the former may be due to the mistakes of the scribes.

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[1] *Agn.* 272/5–6.

[2] The *Biblistheca Indica edition of the Agni* gives *Nābhāgodiṣṭa* instead of *Nābaagadyaṣṭa.*

[3] V, 1–2.

24. The *Brahma* text has retained *Vainava* from the original, whereas the *Agni* has corrupted it to *Vainaca.* Similarly, *Nābhāgādyaṣṭa* cannot be the correct reading, which, as occurring in the other Purāṇas, should be Nābhāgodiṣṭa.[1] Nābhāgodiṣṭa may easily be corrupted to Nabhagādyaṣṭa through the negligence of the editor or the scribes, the verses in question as collated by Pargiter[2] suggest this original.

text:–Manor Vaivasvatasyāsan putrā vai nava tatsamāḥ,
Ikṣvakuś caiva Nābhāgo Dhṛṣṭaḥ Śaryātir eva ca.
Nariṣyantas tathā Prāṁśur Nābhāgodiṣṭa eva ca,
Kārūṣaś ca Pṛṣadhraś ca navaite Mānavāḥ Smṛtāḥ.

Thus, Manu had nine sons–Ikṣvāku, Nābhāga, Dhṛṣṭa, Śaryāti, Nariṣyanta, Prāṁśu, Nābāgoriṣṭa or Nābhāgodiṣṭa, who may be equated with Nābhānediṣṭa of the Vedic literature[3] as suggested by Pargiter,[4] Kārūṣa and Pṛṣadhra. All these names with

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[1] Pargiter indirectly supports this view, *AIHT* p. 98. n 3.

[2] *AIHT* p. 84 n. 2.

[3] *Ṛg.* X. 61, 8, Nābhānediṣṭa is also a seer of the *Rg.* X. 61, and some hymns in X, 62, *Tai S.* III, 1, 94, V, 14, *Āś Śr* VIII, Sāyaṇa's introductory remark in connection with the commentary on *Ṛg.* X, 61.

[4] *A.I.H.T.* p. 84, n 2, p. 225, n 13.

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slight modification, here and there, occur in the twelve Purāṇas. As for the historicity of these names, there should be no doubt as some of them find mention even in the *Ṛgveda* and other Vedic literature.

25. *Ilā episode* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* mentions Ilā as the daughter of Manu, but merely sums up the romantic episode of her metamorphosis without giving any details about it.

The *Purāṇa* says that Ilā having borne Purūravas to Budha was transformed into a male called Sudyumna, and this Sudyumna had three sons Utkal, Gaya, and Vitatāśva. Utkala founded the Utkala (Orissa) country, Gaya established Gayāpurī, whereas Vitatāśva established himself in the west. Through the intervention of Vasiṣṭha, Sudyumna got Pratiṣṭhāna (near modern Allahabad), which he handed over to Purūravas,[1] This episode is described at length by most of the Purāṇas and other ancient literature.

26. *Conclusion* :—In the light of the facts stated above, it could be easily suggested that following the earlier Purāṇas *Agni-purāṇa* also attempts to bring together various ruling dynasties by binding them in common ancestry. Of the nine sons of Manu, the *Purāṇa* mentions seven as historically important *viz.* Nariṣyat, Nābhāga, Dhṛṣṭa, Śaryāti, Kārūṣa Pṛṣadhra and Ikṣvāku. Nariṣyat is the first to be referred to from the historical point of view. But he is disposed off summarily merely with the remark "the Śakas were his sons."[2] There is much confusion about him in the Purāṇas because they take note of one more Nariṣyata, the son of Marutta, in the Vaiśālika[3] line, which traces its origin to Diṣṭa according to the Brahmāṇḍa[4] and the Viṣṇu.[5] In the light of the data available, it may be stated that Narisyata, the son of Manu, was a vague figure, sometimes regarded as the originator of the Śakas and

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[1] *Agn.* 273/4—10.
[2] *Ibid*, 273/10,
[3] *Vā* 86/12, *Bd*. 61/7, 8, *Viṣṇ*. IV, 1, 19-61.
[4] 61/17,
[5] IV, 1, 19—61.

sometimes as belonging to the Vaiśālika line as a son of Marutta. A passing reference is made to Nābhāga, Dhṛṣṭa, Kārūṣa and Pṛṣadhra. Vaiṣṇava Ambarīṣa, the protector of the subjects, is described as the son of Nābhāga,[1] who is also assigned two Vaiśya sons, who were later on Brahmanised.[2] Kārūśa gave rise to the Kārūṣa Kṣatriyas, "difficult to suppress in battle" and Dhṛṣṭa to Dhārṣṭaka dynasty. Pṛṣadhra killed his preceptor's cow and became Śūdra. Other Purāṇas also make references to these kings, and in some cases more information is also available. Nābhāga is noticed by about twelve Purāṇas. The *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu*, *Garuḍa* and *Bhāgavata* assign to him three more successors Virūpa, Pṛṣadāśva and Rathītara in addition to Ambarīṣa. After Rathītara, the descendants were Brahmanised as the *Brahmāṇḍa*[3] clearly notes. Dhṛṣṭa, Kārūśa and Pṛṣadhra are all casually mentioned by the other Purāṇas as well. The *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vāyu* give Cyavana as the name of the preceptor whose cow Pṛṣadhra had killed.

27. With regard to Nābhagodiṣṭa or Nābhāneḍṣṭa as already noticed, there seems to be much confusion. A critical study of the relevent portions in the various Purāṇas would suggest that Nābhānediṣṭa was currupted to Nābhāgodiṣṭa which in its turn was broken into two parts giving rise to two names Nābhāga and Diṣṭa. That is why, sometimes Nābhāga is called *Diṣṭaputra*, son of Diṣṭa[4] and falls in the line of the Vaiśālika kings. This view is also lent support to by the fact that in the *Vāyu*[5] Nābhāgariṣṭa is regarded as the founder of the Vaiśālika branch, his son being Bhalandana, Bhalandana's son according to the *Viṣṇu*[6] was Vatsaprīti, But the *Vāyu*[7] and *Brahmāṇḍa*[8] call him Prāṁśu. The *Viṣṇu* version seems to be correct, as it is supported by a reference to Vatsaprī, the son of Bhalandana as

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[1] Agn. 273/10-11.
[2] *Ibid* 273/13.
[3] II, 63, 7.
[4] Viṣṇ. IV, 1, 19,
[5] *Vā*. 86/3,
[6] IV, 1. 20-21,
[7] 86/4,
[8] II, 61, 3,

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a seer of the *Ṛgveda.*[1] Śaryāti laid the foundations of a ruling dynasty in western India comprising modern Gujarat. Śaryāti had a son Ānarta, after whom the country was named, the capital of which was Kuśasthalī. He had also a daughter named Sukanyā married to Cyavana.[2] The Agnipurāṇa gives Vairohi[3] as the name of Ānarta's son, which should be Reva, as is clear in the next verse.[4] This Reva or Revata, according to the other Purāṇas, had a son called Raivata or Kakudmi, who had his capital at Kuśasthalī.[5] Kakudmī enjoyed divine music at Brahmā's abode wtth his daughter just for a moment according to the calculation of the gods, but several ages according to human computation. Having heard that his capital was surrounded by the Yādavas, he returned hastily to his capital. Then Revatī, his daughter, was given in marriage to Baladeva, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, after which he retired to the Sumeru hill to perform penance. There is some historical confusion about the dynasty. Perhaps, the dynasty being confined merely to western India was not of great importance to be recorded in all the details by the Purāṇic bards. Hence, perhaps, the first and the last kings were remembered. On the basis of this suggestion, it may be inferred that Śaryāti was the founder of the dynasty, Kakudmi, the last ruler, lived in the Mahābhārata age, as is clear from his being contemporaneous with Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva. The story about his sojourn in Brahmā's abode, his capital being surrounded by the Yādavas, his subsequent return to the capital and the marriage of his daughter with Baladeva, and then his retiring for penance, all this may suggest that the dynasty came to an end during the reign of Kakudmi, the last king, who was defeated by the Yādavas and had to give his daghter in marriage to the victor, himself having retired into the forest. After this, the Yādavas dominated wastern India till the commencement of the historical period. Pargiter's suggestion[1] that, perhaps, there were two Raivatas ages apart does not seem to be justifiable. Because, the Purāṇas are definite as to Raivata's (also called Kukudmi) fight with the Yādavas led by Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa.

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[1] IX, 63 1–10, X, 45–46.

[2] *Va*, 86/23, *Viṣṇ.* IV, 1, 62

[3] 273/11.

[4] 273/12.

[5] Later Dvārāvatī and modern Dvaraka;

28. Nābhāga, as already noticed, is merely a part of Nābhāgodiṣṭa and as such a separate personality with that name was, perhaps, non-existent. Kārūṣa gave rise to the dynasty of the Kārūṣa Kṣatriyas, whose genealogy is not given but stray reference to these Kṣatriyas occurs in the Purāṇas here and there. Pṛṣadhra, the last named son of Manu, is described as having killed his preceptor's cow and consequently reduced to the status of a Śūdra.

29 Ikṣvāku, the eldest son of Manu, was most important, who gave rise to the main branch of the solar line of which in all sixty-seven[2] kings are noted in the *Agni-purāṇa*. He ruled over Madhyadeśa. Some Purāṇas describe him as having hundred sons of whom fifty ruled in Uttarāpatha and the rest led by Vaiśāli in Dakṣiṇāpatha. According to other Purāṇas, of the hundred sons of Ikṣvāku, Vikukṣi was the eldest, whose fifteen sons were kings in the north of Meru and 114 others in the south of Meru. But the *Agni* makes no mention of Ikṣvāku's hundred sons, it merely mentions Vikukṣi, the Devarāṭ, as the successor of Ikṣvāku. Even Nimi (another son of Ikṣvāku) and the line founded by him in Videha does not find any mention here, though other Purāṇas describe it at length. Thus, the dynasty founded by Ikṣvāku seems to have been most important in the earliest political history of ancient India, because it ruled over Uttarapredesh, which was the very heart of Aryan culture. Moreover, illustraious kings like Māndhātṛ, Hāriścandra, Sagara, Raghu, Rāma etc. were born in it, whose names are even now adored. The Purāṇas give a long list of the rulers upto the age of the Bhārata war. According to the *Agni-purāna* list, the number of the rulers of this dynasty is sixty-seven[3], but according to the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and other

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[1] *AIHT*. p. 98. [2] *Agn*. 273/18–39. [3] *Ibid*. 273/18–39.

Purāṇas, the number is ninety-eight. Some of the important kings may be noted.

30. *Ikṣvāku*—Ikṣvāku[1] seems to be the first historical king of the dynasty as already noticed. He had hundred sons of whom Vikukṣi, Nimi and Daṇḍa were chief. Fifty sons led by Śakuni ruled over Uttarapradeśa (north India), and about the same number over Dakṣiṇāpatha (south India). It is very difficult to believe this account, but certain historical facts may be gleaned therefrom. Ikṣvāku, perhaps, for the first time in the history of the Aryans in India, brought into existence the political unity, atleast, between the Vindhyas and the Himālayas. This is why an important position is assigned to him as the originator of an important dynasty that gave political unity to India. Thus, the place of Ikṣvāku in the political history of ancient India can hardly be over-estimated.

31. *Kākustha*—Kākustha[2] is the third king, also known as Purañjaya in the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and other Purāṇas. According to a legend, he fought in the wars between the gods and the demons on the side of the former riding on Indra in the form of a bull. Hence, he got the title Kākutstha. In this *Devāsurasaṁgrāma*, perhaps, there may be a reference to the fight the Aryans had to give to the dark coloured aborigines, so often mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*.[3]

32. *Śrāvanta* (*Śrāvasta*)— Śrāvanta is the ninth ruler according to the *Agni-purāṇa*, whereas in other Purāṇas he comes eighth and his name is Śrāvasta, which seems to be correct and not Śrāvanta as given by the *Agni-purāṇa*. He is credited with founding the city of Śrāvantī[4] in the east, which is in reality Śrāvastī. It was the capital of Kosala in the days

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[1] *Ibid* 273/17–20; [2] *Ibid* 273/21–22;

[3] II, 12, 4;

[4] Perhaps represented by the ruins at Sahet Mahet in Uttarapradesh; *E. H. I.* p. 31, also note 2;

of the Buddha who visited it several times, and it is known to Buddhist literature as Sāvatthī.[1]

33. *Māndhāṭr*—Māndhāṭr,[2] the son of Yuvanāśva, is the eighteenth king in the list. The *Agni-purāṇa* merely makes a mention of his name, not making any reference to the various legends connected with him as given in other Purāṇas, where he is called Cakravartin, having enjoyed the earth with its seven islands. His wife was Bindumatī and he had three sons Purukutsa, Ambarīṣa, Mucukanda and fifty daughters, all of whom were married to an old sage Saubhari. He was also a Vedic seer mentioned as Yauvanāśva Māndhāṭr.[3]

34. *Hariścandra*—Hariścandra[4], twenty-seventh in the *Agni* list, coming thirty-third in the *Vāyu* and other Purāṇas, was the son of Satyavrata. With his wife Tārāmatī and the son Rohita, he is the central figure in legendary accounts, which have inspired literary efforts in various Indian languages. His as well as his wife's and son's sufferings for the cause of righteousness have long been remembered in India. He is also mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,[5] where his son named Rohita is described as being born to him, who was to be sacrificed to the god Varuṇa. But in his place Śunaḥśepa, the son of Ajigārti, was proposed to be sacrificed, who later on was adopted as son by Viśvāmitra and became a Vedic[6] seer. It seems, Hariścandra became a very popular figure owing to the sufferings that he had to undergo. That is why, even today he is remembered as the very embodiment of truthfulness. All his sufferings for the righteous cause are too well known to need any specific mention.

35. *Sagara*—Sagara,[7] the thirty-first king, according to the *Agni-purāṇa* and fortieth according to the *Vāyu* and other Purāṇas was the son of Bāhu. The *Agni-purāṇa* merely mentions these names, but it also summarily refers to the episode[8]

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[1] T. W. Rhya Davids; *Buddhist India* (fifth Impression, London, 1917) p. 40.

[2] *Agn.* 273/23-24. [3] *Rg.* X, 134, 1-6. [4] *Agn.* 273/25-27;

[5] VII, 13, 18, [6] Ṛg. I, 24-30, IX, 3,

[7] *Agn.* 273/27-29, [8] *Ibid.* 273/28-29.

connected with the digging of the earth by the sixty-thousand sons of Sagara in search of the sacrificial horse. The horse was removed to the hermitage of the sage Kapila in the nether world, who subsequently cursed those intruders, who were reduced to ashes, but Bhagīratha, the great-grand-son of Asamañjas, their step-brother, redeemed them by bringing the Ganges on the earth from heaven. From other Purāṇas[1] something more affecting the course of history is gathered with regard to Sagara's father Bāhu. He was defeated by Tālajaṅgha Haihayas because he did not adopt righteousness and had to retire into the forest. It was Sagara, born to him in his exile, like the great Moghul Akbar to his refugee father Humayun, who defeated the Tālajaṅghas and retsored his dynasty to its former glory. As a Dharmavijayī (one who conquers with righteouness), he conquered the whole earth and was thus entitled to perform a horse-sacrifice. It was in this connection that his sixty-thousend sons were reduced to ashes by the wrath of the sage Kapila. Thus, under Sagara the Kingdom of Aikṣāvakus may have attained great dimensions. Even the south was conquered. His marriage with Vidarbha daughter Keśinī may lend indirect support to the influence that he wielded in the south, specially after the defeat of the Haihaya Tālajaṅghas.

36. *Birth of Sagara* :—An interesting episode is connected with the birth of Sagara.[2] His father Bāhu. being defeated by the Haihaya Tālajaṅghas, entered into the forest in the company of his crown queen, who was bearing. She was given poison by her co-wife with a view to make her foetus steady for seven years. Bāhu, growing old, died and she wanted to burn herself on her lord's funeral pyre as a Satī, when the sage Aurva intervened and persuaded her not to adopt that course, as she bore a *Cakravartin* king in her womb. The sage took her to his hermitage, where, after a few days, she was delivered of an illustrious child together with the poison (*Sa–*

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[1] *Bḍ*. III, 63, 120 ff. [2] *Bḍ* III, 63, 120–130;

gara). The sage brought up the child, all the *Saṁskāras* were performed in his case. After *Upanayana* (thread-ceremony), he was taught the Vedas and the Śāstras. He was trained in the use of the five-weapons called *Āgneyāstra.* Having known from his mother that the Tālajaṅghas had deprived his father of his dominions, he took a vow to extirpate them and establish himself in his paternal dominions. This vow he fulfilled quite gloriously.

37. *Fight between North and South*–In the destruction of the Haihayas at the hands of Sagara, we may see the glimpses of the fight for political hegemony over India between the south and the north, the former being represented by the Haihayas and the latter by the Ikṣvākus. Sagara's father Bāhu, perhaps, tried to re-establish the glory of the house, which was waning on account of the exploits of the lunar kings like Arjuna Kārtavīrya. This Arjuna suffered death at the hands of Paraśurāma, who, perhaps, did not hail from the north. It was Bāhu's son Sagara, who could check the surging tide of the Haihaya power of the soulh. Thus, he succeeded in breaking the formidable power of the Haihayas though they continued their political existence, which remained merely of secondary importance.

38. *Asamañjas*—Asmañjas[1], the son of the Vaidarbha queen continued the dynastic thread, his sixty-thousand step-brothers, born of Sumati, the daughter of Ariṣṭanemi, being reduced to ashes as already noticed. According to the *Agni-purāṇa*, the name of the first queen was Bhānumatī, the mother of Asamañjas, and that of the second was Prabhā, the mother of sixty thousand sons, but the earlier Purāṇas name them as Sumati and Keśinī. Hence, the names in the *Agni-purāṇa* are far from correct.

39. *Raghu*—Raghu[2] is the forty-sixth king according to the *Agni*–list and sixty–second according to others. His world-conquest, though unnoticed by the Purāṇas, is beautifully des-

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[1] *Agn.* 273/29–30; [2] *Ibid.* 273/32–33;

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cribed by Kālidāsa.[1] It is, perhaps, due to his exploits as a great conquerer that the dynasty came to be known after his name. Even today, there are Kṣatriyas, who pride themselves in calling Raghubansī. Possibly, he may have lived at an epoch-making period in the history of the Aryan rule in India.

40, *Rāma Dāśarathi*—Rāma Dāśarathi[2] is the fifty-second king in the *Agui*–list and sixty-fifth in others. The *Agui–purāṇa* describes all the four sons of Daśaratha as divine. His self-lessness, sacrifice, generosity and hardship are immortalised by Vālmīki in his *Rāmāyaṇa*, the great source of inspiration to every phase of Hindu life even to the present day Even today, Rāma is regarded as an ideal of all that is best in life as viewed by the Hindus, who regard him as the very incarnation of the Almighty.

41, *Last of the Ikṣvāku dynasty*—Upto Ahīnāśva, the sixty-first king, the *Agni* list somewhat tallies with the lists in other Purāṇas, but after that there is much divergence between the *Agni* on the one hand and the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* etc. on the other. In the *Agni* list, Śrutāyu is the 67th king and the last of the Aikṣavākus, whereas inthe other Purāṇas the dynasty ends with Bṛhadbala, the 98th king, who is described as being killed by Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna in the Bhārata-battle.

42. *Nimi and his dynasty*—The dynasty of Nimi, Ikṣvāku's second son, though not noticed by the *Agni–purāṇa*, deserves a passing reference. This dynasty ruled over Mithilā (south Bihar), the country so named after Mithi, the son of Nimi.[3] The kings of the dynasty are described by the Purāṇas as solely dependant on their philosophic love, a fact that is amply corroborated by the Upaniṣads. About fifty-three kings of this dynasty are mentioned, importrnt ones of whom may be noted. Mithi, also called Janaka or Videha, was the son and successor of Nimi. The country of Mithilā was named after him.[4] The name Videha would remind us of his spiritual

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[1] *Ragh*. Conto IV.

[2] *Agn*. 273/34–35.

[3] *Vā*. 89/1–23;

[4] *Ibid*. 89/6;

career. Sīradhvaja, the father of Sītā, Rāma Dāśarthi's consort, was the twenty-first king. He got Sītā, while ploughing the land for sacrificial purpose. Kṛti was the last king of the dyuasty. All these kings are also known as *Maithileya* kings. It seems the dynasty did not play a dominant role in the political history of the country, but to philosophic speculation, their contribution seems to be immense. Their efforts must, undoubtedly, have prepared ground for the spiritual career of Lord Buddha and Lord Mahāvīra.

43. *Lunar Dynasty, Purūravas*—The Lunar dynasty, as already noticed, is traced to the moon, but historically speaking, Purūravas[1] was, perhaps, its originator. He seems to have been very important historical personality. He had married the famous Urvaśī, their love-affair being referred to in the *Ṛgveda*[2] and also imortalised by the Purāṇic bards and Kālidāsa.[3]

44. *Sons of Purūravas*—The *Agni-purāṇa*[4] assigns eight sons Āyu, Dṛḍhāyu, Dhanāyu. Dhṛtimān, Vasu, Divijāta, Śatāyu and Ayutāyu to Purūravas through Urvaśī, whereas the *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu* and others merely give six Āyus, Dṛḍhāyu, Amāvasu, Viśvāvasu, Śṛtāyu and Ayutāyu, of these the dynasties of Āyus and Amāvasu were prolonged.

45. *Āyus and his five sons, Nahuṣa*—Āyus had five sons, both according to the *Agni-purāṇa* and the other Purāṇas but their names differ. According to the *Agni*, the names are Nahuṣa. Vṛddhaśarmā, Rāji, Dambha and Vipāpmā, according to the other Purāṇas the names are Nahuṣa, Kṣatravṛddha, Rambha, Rāji and Anenas. Nahuṣa's[5] dynasty was historically very important. The *Agni* list, while continuing the main line through Nahuṣa, merely makes a passing reference to Rāji's hundred sons known as Rājeyas. With reference to Rāji, the *Purāṇa* says that he was granted a boon by the god

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[1] *Agn*. 274/12–14

[2] X 95;

[3] His *Vikramorvaśīyam*;

[4] *Agn*. 274/15.

[5] *Ibid*. 274/15–16;

Viṣṇu and being requested by the gods killed the demons in the great battle and was regarded as father by Indra. Rāji's son had captured the domains of Indra, which were returned to him through the intervention of the Guru[1] (Bṛhaspati).

46. *Sons of Nahuṣa*—The *Agni-purāṇa* assigns seven sons to Nahuṣa, *viz*. Yati, Yayāti, Uttama, Uddhava, Pañcaka, Śaryāti and Meghapālaka. According to the other Purāṇas, he had six sons, their names being Yati, Yayāti, Saṁyāti, Ayāti, Viyāti and Vṛti. Obviously, the *Agni* version cannot be accepted. It is later and it does not tally with what is given in the earlier Purāṇas. But two names Yati and Yayāti are common to all the Purāṇas ; hence their historicity need not be doubted. Yati being religious-minded retired to a life of seclusion, leaving the throne to his younger brother Yayāti.

47. *Yayāti, a Vedic Ṛṣi*—Yayāti[2] is again a very important figure in the political history of India. He is also a seer in the Ṛgveda[3], where he is mantioned as *Ṛṣi Yayāti Nāhuṣa*. He is also referred to in the *Ṛgveda*[4], along with Manu, Aṅgiras and others, whose sacrifices were visited by the god Agni. These Vedic references clearly indicate the part that Yayāti played in the religious life of his times.

48. *Yayāti, a ruler and a man, his sons*—But the Purāṇas[5] notice him as a ruler and a man, rather a romantic lover. The *Agni-purāṇa* does not give the romantic episode of his life, especially his marriage with Śarmiṣṭhā. Other Purāṇas narrate the romantic episode in poetic language. His first wife Devayānī was the daugher of Uśanas (Śukra) and the second wife Śarmiṣṭhā was the danghter of Vṛṣaparvan, the lord of the demons. Devayānī gave birth to Yadu and Turvaśa, and Śarmiṣṭhā gave birth to Druhyu, Anu and Pūru. Of these, the eldest Yadu and the youngest Pūru were historically very

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[1] *Ibid*. 274/17–19;
[2] *Ibid*. 274/20–22;
[3] IX., 101, 4–6;
[4] I. 31–27;
[5] *Viṣṇ*. IV, 10, 20.

important, because, as the *Agni-purāṇa* says, they were the prolongers of their dynasties.[1]

49. *Yayāti-Ākhyāna* :—According to the *Yayāti-Ākhyāna* of the Purāṇas,[2] Yayāti, though old, wanted to enjoy youth and requested each one of his five sons to exchange his old age for their youth. Only Pūru agreed to this queer proposal and exchanged his youth for his father's old age. Having sufficiently enjoyed the youth, Yayāti returned it to his son Pūru and as a reward for his dutifulness gave over all his dominions to him, whereas the other brothers merely became his subordinates in various directions. Turvaśa was assigned to the southeast, Druhyu to the west, Yadu to the south and Anu to the north. After this, he retired to the forest and performed penance.

50. *Yayāti-Gītā* :—In the Purāṇas, we get a picture of his spiritual life from the verses comprising the *Yayāti-gītā*,[3] which in philosophic, spiritual and ethical fervour is a precursor of the *Bhagavadgītā*. These verses, perhaps, in nutshell, comprise the Gāthā sung by Yayāti. The verses described here in connection with the *Gāthā* have got much in common with similar ones in the *Bhagavadgītā*, which seems to be a definite improvement upon those in the *Vāyu-purāṇa*. On several occasions in the *Vāyu*, as well as in the other Purāṇas, generally earlier, such *Gāthās* or *Gitas* are referred to in connection with some reign or event of importance. From this, it may conveniently be inferred that in ancient times, it was a popular custom to commemorate events of great importance illustrating royal valour etc. in the form of *Gāthās* or *Gitas*. When the Purāṇic literature came to be complied and began to assume its present form, these *Gāthās* and *Gitas* were fully utilised and occasionally definite references were made to them. These *Gāthās*

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[1] *Agn.* 274/23.

[2] *Viṣṇ.* IV, 10, 30–32;

[3] *Ibid* IV, 10, 23–29; *Vā.* 93/94–101 gives a better version of the Yayāti Gīta.

may also be traced to the Ṛgvedic period in the dialogue hymns of the *Ṛgveda*.[1]

51. *Yayāti's five sons, Yadu* :—Yayāti's five sons Yadu, Turvaśa, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru are historically very important. They are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*[2] as well. Unfortunately, modern scholars have misunderstood the Vedic references to these five sons of Yayāti. They (sons of Yayāti) are mistaken for the names of the five tribes, *Pañcajanāḥ*, so often mentioned in the Vedic literature. But with the help of the Purāṇic evidence, it may easily be suggested that the five names in question are merely those of Yayāti's sons, who parcelled out the whole of India among themselves, thus giving political unity to India long before Aśoka.

52. Pūru and Yadu, as noticed by the *Agni-purāṇa*, seem to be of great historical importance, for, it was Pūru, who continued the main line and whose descendants could be traced right upto the period of Bhārata battle. Even as late as Alexander's time (326 B. C.), one Paurava, no doubt, a great member of the great Paurava dynasty, was still ruling in the Punjab. As for Yadu, he was assigned to the south, where he founded a very powerful dynasty, which wielded power for a very long time and whose descendants calling themselves Yādavas may be traced even today.

53. *Minor Dynasties* :—About ten kings of the dynasty founded by Amāvasu, the second son of Purūravas, are noted. Jahnu, the fourth king of the line, finding his sacrificial ground submerged in the waters of the Ganges, got enraged and drank off the river. On this, the gods and the sages propitiated him and consequently he brought forth the Ganges as his daughter, hence the name Jāhnavī. Gādhi or Kauśika was the ninth king. His father was Kuśa, hence his name Kauśika. He is the seer of so many hymns in the *Ṛgveda*.[3] To the Vedic literature, he is known as *Kuśika-putro Gāthī*[4] *Ṛṣi*. His

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[1] I, 179; VII. 100; X, 10, 95; X, 108 etc.

[2] I, 108, 8.

[3] III, 19–22;

[4] Ṛg. III. 19.

daughter Satyavatī was married to Ṛcīka Bhārgava and Jamadagni was their son. This Jamadagni was married to Reṇukā, the daugther of the king Reṇu of the Ikṣvāku line and his son was Paraśurāma, the destroyer of Arjun Kārtavīrya. Gādhi's son was Viśvāmitra, the well-known Vedic seer of the Brāhmaṇic literature. It was he who through penance became Brāhmaṇa. He is the seer of several hymns in the *Ṛgveda*.[1] His sons were also Vedic seers.[2]

54. *Anenas dynasty* :—About twenty-seven kings of the dynasty founded by Anenas, the youngest son of Āyus, are noted. Gṛtsamada, the third king, was a seer of certain hymns in the *Ṛgveda*.[3] Kāśyapa and Kāśa were his two brothers. Śaunaka, the next king, is described as the upholder of four Varṇas. Pratardana, the thirteenth king, destroyed the Bhadraśreṇyas and overpowered all the enemies. Hence, he came to be called Śatrujit. His father was Divodāsa. He is also a seer in the *Ṛgveda*[4] being mentioned as *Pratardana Daivodāsi*. Alarka, the fifteenth king, enjoyed a very long reign. But the duration of the reign as mentioned in the Purāṇas cannot be reliable. Bharga Bhūmi, the last king, was the upholder of the four Varṇas. The kings of this dyansty were also called Kāśyapa Bhubhṛta.

55. *Kṣatravṛddha's dynasty* :—About eleven kings of the dynasty founded by Kṣatravṛddha, the second son of Āyus, are mentioned, Kṣetradharmā being the last.

56. *Yadu's dynasty* :—The dynasty founded by Yadu[5] ruled over the Deccan, and several illustrious kings were born in it. According to the *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu* and other earlier Purāṇas, he had four sons Sahasrajit, Kroṣṭu, Nala and Nahuṣa (II). But according to the *Agni-purāṇa*, he had five sons Sahasrajit, Nīliñjaka, Raghu, Kroṣṭu and Śatajit.

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[1] III. 1-22, 24-37, 39-53, 50-62; [2] *Ṛg*. I, 1-10, IX. I;
[3] IX, 86, 46-48; [4] IX 96.
[5] *Agn* 275/1 ff;

Of these Sahasrajit's and Kroṣṭu's genealogies have been preserved in the Purāṇas including the *Agni*. In the *Agni-purāṇa* about fifteen kings are mentioned in the direct Yādava line through Sahasrajit, the eldest son of Yadu, whereas in other Purāṇas about eighteen kings are mentioned. The fifth king Mahima of the *Agni*-list cannot but be the eighth king Mahiṣmān in the other Purāṇas. He founded the city of Māhiṣmatī on the banks of the Narmadā. The sixth king Bhadrasenaka in the *Agni-purāṇa* would be the ninth king Bhadraśreṇya in the *Viṣṇu* and other Purāṇas. He was destroyed by Pratardana Daivodāsi, the descendant of Anenas, the younger brother of Āyus.

57. *Arjuna Kārtavīrya* :—Arjuna[1] was the most important king of the dynasty and his exploits have been a theme of mythological accounts. In the *Viṣṇu* and other Purāṇas he is thirteenth. His father was Kṛtavīrya, hence he was also known as Kārtavīrya. He seems to be a great conquerer and a successful ruler as may be inferred from the Purāṇic accounts. He is described as the lord of the earth with its seven islands. Having propitiated Dattātreya, he was granted several boons as a result of which he became thousand-armed, got invincibility and was destined to suffer death at the hands of a person well-known throughout the world. He portected the earth and performed a thousand sacrifices. His reign witnessed a period of prosperity, peace and happiness. He had imprisoned even Rāvaṇa, who had come on world-conquest in a secluded corner of his capital. He suffered death at the hands of Paraśurāma. He is credited with hundred sons of whom five were of importance. In the *Agni-purāṇa,* the five sons are Śūrasena, Śūra, Dhṛṣṭokta, Kṛṣṇa and Jayadhvaja, whereas the *Viṣṇu* and other Purāṇas give their names as Śūra. Śūrasena, Vṛṣasena, Madhu and Jayadhvaja. The *Agni*-version cannot obviously be more reliable. He was succeeded by Jayadhvaja, who. according to the *Brahmāṇḍa,*[2] was the

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[1] *Ibid.* 275/5–8.

[2] III, 69, 50.

progenitor of a line and the ruler at Avantī. The *Agni-purāṇa*[1] also calls him a great ruler at Avantī. His son and successor was Tālajaṅgha, who defeated Bāhu of the solar line, fortieth in descent from Vikukṣi, the son of Ikṣvāku. Tālajaṅgha's hundred sons were called Tālajaṅghas. It was, at this time, that the Haihayas branched off into five groups, which according to the *Brahmāṇḍa*, are Vītihotras, Bhojas, Āvantyas, Tuṇḍikeras and Tālajaṅgahs. The *Agni-purāṇa*[2] gives Śauṇḍikeyas for Tuṇḍikeras.

58. *Krhṣṭu's line* :—Kroṣṭu,[3] the second son of Yadu, was the originator of another line. Upto Satvat the dynasty had about thirty-five kings. Śaśabindu,[4] the sixth king, is described as a Cakravartin and a devotee of Hari. His hundred sons are described as wise, handsome and possessing much riches and lustre.[5] He was succeeded by his son Pṛthuśravas. Uśanaḥ, the ninth king, is described in the *Visnu-purāṇa* as having performed hundred horse-sacrifices. Vidarbha, the fifteenth king, had three sons-Kratha, Kaiśika, (wrongly given as Kauśika by the *Agni-purāṇa*[6]) and Romapāda (Lomapāda in the *Agni-purāṇa*). This Vidarbha may well be associated with the Vidarbha country af the old days, corresponding to modern Vidarbha. Kratha contiuued the main line, whereas Kaiśika's son Cedi originated the line of the Caidya kings. Satvat may be regarded as the last king in Kroṣṭu's line, because his four sons Bhajamān, Vṛṣṇi, Andhaka and Devavṛdha came to be known as Sātvatas.

59. *Sātvatas* :—With regard to the Sātvatas, there is a good deal of confusion in the Purāṇic accounts. In the *Agni-purāṇa*, Devavṛdha, the son of Satvat, continues the main branch. His son Babhru was reputed to be a good man, whose merits were sung as mentioned in the *Agni-purāṇa*.[7]

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[1] 275/9.

[2] 275/11;

[3] *Agn.* 275/12;

[4] *Ibid.* 275/13;

[5] *Ibid.* 275/14;

[6] *Ibid.* 275/18.

[7] 275/25–26;

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Eleventh in descent from Babhru was Ugrasena, the father of Kaṁsa, the great enemy of Kṛṣṇa.

60. *Bhajamān and his line* :—Bhajamān, another son of Satvat, established his line of which about fifteen kings are noted. Satrājit, thirteenth in descent from Bhajamān, is associated with the Syamantaka jewel, which, it was suspected, was stolen by Kṛṣṇa. A detailed account of how the jewel was recovered by Kṛṣṇa to vindicate his honour is given in the various Purāṇas. Kṛṣṇa and other important Yādavas, who participated in the Bhārata war, were also born in this line.

61. *Dynasty of Turvaśa,*[1] *Druhyu and Anu* :—With regard to the dynasties founded by Turvaśa (Durvasu according to the *Viṣṇu*), Druhya and Anu, the sons of Yayāti, there is a good deal of confusion in the *Agni-purāṇa*. The rulers of the three different lines have been placed together giving rise to confusion. But the *Viṣṇu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vāyu* versions are quite reliable, and the *Agni-purāṇa* also, though in a confused way, has adopted, more or less, the same. The dynasty founded by Turvaśa, the second son of Yayāti, ruled over the south-east, of which about six kings are noted. The last king Marutta was issuless, hence Duṣyanta, the Paurava was adopted as a son. Consequently, the dynasty was merged in the main Paurava line. About nine kings of the dynasty founded by Druhyu,[2] the third son of Yayāti, are noted. It ruled over the west, rather the north-west of India. Gāndhāra was the fourth king; the country bearing the same name may, perhaps, have been named after him. Śatadharmā, the last king, is described as ruling over several Mlecchas. Anu, the fourth son of Yayāti, established his dynasty originally in the north. At the time of the eighth king Uśīnara and his brother Titikṣu, it branched off into two. Uśīnara had five sons Śibi, Nṛga, Naya, Kṛmi and Varuṇa. Śibi had four sons Vṛṣadarbha, Suvīra, Kekaya and Madraka.[3] The coun-

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[1] *Agn.* Chap. 277/1–2; [2] *Ibid.* 277/4. [3] *Ibid.* 277/5–10

tries Śauvīra, Kaikeya etc. were, perhaps, named after them.

62. *Titikṣu's descendants* :—The descendants of Tritikṣu, the brother of Uśīnara, carried the dynasty towards east India. Bali was the fifth king of the dynasty. The *Agni-purāṇa* assigns four sons–Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Kaliṅga. They may be regarded as the founders of the countries named after them. These were known as *Bāleya*,[1] The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* adds Ṣuhma to these four and notes that five countries were named after them. In other Purāṇas, Dīrghatamas, the great Vedic sage, and the seer of so many hymns in the *Ṛgveda*,[2] is also mentioned as one of his sons. He (Bali) himself is described in the *Agni-purāṇa* as a great *Yogī*. Aṅga, described as *Kṣetraja* son of Bali in other Purāṇas, continued, perhaps, the main line after Bali. The kings coming after him were called *Aṅga–vaṁśyāḥ*. Citraratha, the tenth king, is also called Romapāda in the *Viṣṇu*. whereas, according to the *Agni-purāṇa*, Lomapāda was his grandson. The *Agni-purāṇa* has added two more names between Citraratha and his successor Caturaṅga. Daśaratha, Romapāda's friend, gave him his daughter in marriage. Campa, the fifteenth king, is credited by the *Viṣṇu* as having founded the country called Campā. According to the *Agni-purāṇa*, Viśvajit was the predecessor of Karṇa, the great figure in the Bhārata war. But the *Viṣṇu* mentions Viśvajit as his (Campa's) successor, who found Karṇa floating on the waters of the Ganges. With Pṛthusena, according to the *Agni-purāṇa* and Vṛṣasena according to the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, the dynasty came to an end.

63. *Pūru's Dynasty* :—The dynasty established by Pūru, the youngest son of Yayāti, played an important role in the history of ancient India. Here again, to some extent. the *Agni*–list agrees with that in the *Viṣṇu* and other Purāṇas. There is much confusion, especially at a later stage, in the *Agni* account.[3]

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[1] *Ibid*. 277/11ff.

[2] I. 147, 3; I. 158, 4, 6; I. 140-146.

[3] *Agn*. Chap. 278;

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64. Apratiratha :—Apratiratha, wrongly called Pratiratha[1] in the *Agni-purāṇa,* the twelth descendant from Pūru, was the father of the famous Kaṇva, the originator of the Kāṇvāyana Brāhmaṇas. According to the *Agni-purāṇa,* Taṁsurodha, the elder brother of Pratiratha (Apratiratha), was the father of Duṣyanta, whereas according to the *Viṣṇu* Ailīna was the father of Duṣyanta.

65. *Duṣyanta, Bharata* :—Duṣyanta is the thirteenth king of the dynasty,[2] whose remance with Śakuntalā is described in the Purāṇas[3] and which has been immortalised by the great Kālīdāsa.[4] Bharata,[5] the fourteenth king, was his son and successor. He is known to the Purāṇas as Cakravartī, which shows he must have effected conquests. His descendants came to be known as Bharatas, and the name Bhāratavarṣa for India is also due to him. According to the *Viṣṇu–purāṇa,*[6] he had three wives and nine sons. He suspected the birth of his sons, hence the mothers killed them; consequently he became childless. On this, the Maruts made Bharadvāja his son. This Bharadvāja was the son of Bṛhaspati through the wife of Utathya. After being adopted by Bharata, he came to be called Vitatha and became his son and successor. He is a seer of several hymns being called Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya.[7] After Vitatha, there is much confusion in the genealogy preserved in the *Agni-purāṇa* and there is too much divergence with the list in the other Purāṇas According to the *Agni-purāṇa,*[8] Vitatha (Bharadvāja) had five sons Suhotra, Gāya, Garbha and Suketu, whereas the *Viṣṇu*[9] gives Manyu as the son, who is assigned four sons Bṛhatakṣatra, Mahāvīrya, Nagara and Garga. These sons are held responsible for having given rise to various ruling branches and *Brahma-Kṣatra* families.[10]

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[1] *Ibid.* 278/6;

[2] *Agn.* 278/6;

[3] *Hari* 32/3–13;

[4] His *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*

[5] *Agn.* 278/7–8;

[6] IV, 19, 14–21;

[7] *Ṛg.* VI, 53–74.

[8] 278/9;

[9] IV. 19–22;

[10] *Agn.* 278/10–11;

66. *Bṛhata and his successors* :—According to the *Agni-purāṇa,*[1] Bṛhata was the son of Vitatha's son Suhotra and was the father of Ajāmīḍha, Dvimīḍha and Purumīḍha. According to the *Viṣṇu,*[2] these three were the sons of Hasti, the founder of Hastināpura, who was the great-grandson of Vitatha Bharadvāja. Ajāmīḍha's three wives Keśinī, Nalinī and Dhūminī as found in the other Purāṇas are also mentioned in the *Agni-purāṇa*. But with regard to their descendants, there is much divergence, Jahnu is mentioned as the son of Ajāmīḍha and Keśinī. Kuśika, the father of Gādhi and grand-father of Viśvāmitra is mentioned as the great-grand-son of Jahnu. The *Agni-purāṇa,* mentions Śānti as the son of Ajāmīḍha and Nalinī, whereas the *Viṣṇu* mentions Nīla as the son and Śānti as the grand-son. Again, according to the *Agni-purāṇa,* the five great-grand-sons of Śānti–Mukula, Sṛñjaya, Bṛhadiṣu, Yuvīnara and Kṛmila, were the reputed Pāñcālas, of whom Mukula gave rise to Maukulyas, the Brahmanised Kṣatriyas.[3] Mukula is mentioned as Mudgala in the *Viṣṇu* and his descendants as Maudglyas. In Mukula's line were born Śatānanda, and the twins Kṛpa and Kṛpī.[4] In Śṛñjaya's line[5] were born Drupada, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, Dhṛṣṭaketu etc. Ṛkṣa was the son of Ajāmīdha and Dhūminī both in the *Agni-purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇu-pnrāṇa* and the *Agni*–list upto Cyavana exactly tallies with the *Viṣṇu.* Kuru, the son of Saṁvaraṇa and the grand–son of Ṛkṣa, migrated from Prayāga and founded Kurukṣetra.[6] His descendants came to be known as Kauravas. The reputed heroes of the Bhārata war, the five Pāṇḍavas and the hundred Kauravas were also born in this line.[7] This brings us to the period of the Bhārata war. The *Agni-purāṇa* does not take note of the kings during the post-Bhārata-war period, who are known as *Bhaviṣya* kings in other Purāṇas.

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[1] *Ibid.* 271/13–17;

[2] IV, 19. 23–24;

[3] *Agn.* 278/20;

[4] *Ibid.* 278/20–22;

[5] *Ibid.* 278/23–26,

[6] *Ibid.* 278/26.

[7] *Ibid.* 278/26ff.

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67. *Post-Bhārata-war period :*—In the Purāṇas, the past ends with the Bhārata war and the future begins just or soon after that. In several of the Purāṇas, the royal dynasties of the past are followed by the lists of the kings of the future in the form of prophecies. In the dynastic lists of the Kali age, there occurs an account of the Śiśunāgas, the Nandas, the Mauryas, the Śuṅgas, the Āndhras and the Guptas, which are well-known to history. V. A. Smith has shown that the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* is very reliable as regards the Maurya dynasty (B. C. 326–B. C. 185) and the *Matsya-purāṇa* as regards the Āndhra dynasty, which came to an end at about 225 A. D., whilst the *Vāyu-purāṇa* describes the rule of the Guptas as it was under Candragupta 1 (about A. D. 320–30). At the end of these dynastic lists, the Purâṇas enumerate a series of dynasties of low and barbarian descent (Śūdras and Mlecchas), and then follows a dreary description of the Kali age. This prophecy reminds us of the accounts given by the Chinese pilgrim Sung-Yun of the barbarian invasions of the northern Punjab in about 465 A. D., and of Kalhaṇa's vivid description of the rule of Hūṇa chieftain Toramāṇa (about A. D. 500). Moreover, from other sources, it is gathered that the foreign dynasties were ruling in India on the eve of the Christain era. It is possible to interpret the prophecies about the evil Kaliyuga as an echo of the various barbarian invasions resulting in foreign rule.

68. *Critical estimate, Chronological setting ;*—The foregoing account of the various dynasties that ruled over India during the pre-Bhārata-war period is merely a bare skeleton prepared out of the glimpses of political history that we glean from the genealogical lists of the Purāṇas with special reference to the *Agni-purāṇa* and stray references to certain important events associated with the name of a hero or a great king. It is not possible to reconstruct full-fledged history out of the bare material at our disposal. Even then an effort may be made to provide a sort of chronological setting to the account given above.

69. *Bhārata war, starting point, 1000 B. C. parting line between past and future* :—On the evidence of the Purāṇas in general and the *Agni-purāṇa* in particular, the history of ancient India may be broadly divided into two periods, (i) pre-Bhārata-war period, and (ii) post-Bhārata-war period. As already noticed, most of the earlier Purāṇas narrate the account of the first period in the past or present tense and that of the second in the future. Chronologically, the parting line between the two periods may be fixed approximately at 1000 B. C., the likely date for the great war.

70. *Pre-Bhārata-war period (B. C. 2000 to B, C. 1000)* :—In the pre-Bhārata-war period, two dynasties of kings were ruling in different parts of India, of which the solar seems to be the earlier. In the Solar dynasty, Ikṣvāku's line was most important. According to most of the Purāṇas about ninety-eight kings of this dynasty ruled, the last being Bṛhadbala, who was killed by Abhimanyu in the great war. Assigning about twenty years to each reign, we may suggest that Ikṣvāku's dynasty may have been founded about 1960 B. C. or 2000 B. C. in round figures. Thus, the pre-Bhārata-war period may be assigned to B. C. 2000–B. C. 1000 lasting for about a millenium.

71. *Solar dynaty, B. C. 2000–B. C.-1500* : —The Solar dynasty, the earlier of the two, may have flourished and enjoyed political supremacy over India roughly for about five centuries (i. e. during B. C. 2000–B. C. 1500). After this period also, the dynasty may have continued to exist but the other dynasty i. e. the Lunar had attained political eminence.

72. *Two branches, Ikṣvāku, Śaryāti* :—The Purāṇas have noted two branches of the Solar dynasty, (i) Ikṣvāku's line and (ii) Śaryāti's line. Ikṣvāku, the eldest son of Manu, continued rather the main line, which was supreme over Madhyadeśa with its capital at Ayodhyā. Illustrious kings like Śrāvasta, the founder of Śrāvastī (Sahet Mahet in U. P.), Hariścandra, Sagara, the conqueror of the Deccan, Raghu,

Rāma and others were born in this line. After Rāma, perhaps, the dynasty may have gradually lost its political importance. Slight glimpses of the struggle for political supremacy between the north and the south may be gleaned from the Purāṇas. Sagara's father Bāhu was defeated and killed by Tālajaṅgha, the Haihaya (of the Yādava branch), and Sagara in his turn retaliated over the Haihayas and re-established the supremacy of the North.

73. *Nimi's line, Mithilā (South Bihar) :*—Nimi, Ikṣvāku's second son, established a minor dynasty at Mithilā so named after Mithi, the son and successor of Nimi. Rāma's father-in-law Sīradhvaja Janaka was the twenty-first king. The kings of this dynasty were noted for their philosophical speculation.

74. *Śaryāti :*—Another branch of the Solar dynasty was established in Western India by Śaryāti, another son of Manu. His capital was at Kuśasthalī (Dvārakā). His son Ānarta was responsible for the name of the country called Ānarta. The last king Raivata or Kakudmi was attacked by the Yādavas led by Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa. The capital was overpowered by the Yādavas, and Balarāma married Revatī, the daughter of Raivata. Thus, Śaryāti's line was also destroyed by the Yādavas.

75. *Lunar dynasty; Purūravas :*—The Lunar dynasty, according to the Purāṇas, was established by Purūravas, whose historicity may not be doubted. That he established himself at Pratiṣṭhāna may, however, not be quite correct, as his account is shrouded in mythology. This dynasty had several branches and sub-branches, but the main line produced several illustrious monarches, who were Cakravartins. Besides, this dynasty is credited with having produced eminent Vedic seers. The main line was continued by Āyus, the eldest son of Purūravas. The illustrious Yayāti, the *Ṛgvedic* seer, romantic lover and father of the five great sons, was the grand-son of Āyus. In the line of Āyu's

brother Amāvasu and his youngest son Anenas, the Vedic seers like Kuśika, Gādhi, Viśvāmitra, Gṛtsumada, Pratardana Daivodāsi etc. were born. But from the political point of view, the lines established by the five sons of Yayāti are very important. It may, perhaps, be at this time that the political hegemony of India passed from the hands of the Solar kings to those of the Lunar. Pūru's branch was, perhaps, supreme in the north and that of Yadu in the south; Druhyu's and Anu's lines were powerful in the north-west comprising Kandahar and Balochistan. In Pūru's line the illustrious kings like Duṣyanta, Bharata after whom India came to be called Bhāratavarṣa, Hasti, the founder of Hastināpura, and Kuru, the founder of Kurukṣetra, were born. In Yadu's line illustrious kings like Māhiṣmān, the founder of Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā and Arjuna Kārtavīrya, the lord of the earth with seven islands, were born. Vidarbha, Cedi etc., responsible for the names of particular regions in the Decoan, were the descendants of Kroṣṭu, the second son of Yadu.

76. *Conclusion* :—In the light of the above survey, it may be suggested that the various ruling dynasties were connected together mythologically; first they were grouped into two, the Solar and the Lunar. The various dynasties brought under these two heads, may have been founded independently by different rulers. Thus, Ikṣvāku and Śaryāti may not have been real brothers. In point of chronology, the Solar comes first and the Lunar next. It should be borne in mind that the Purāṇas have mixed history with mythology. That is why, the great rulers have grown into mythological figures creating problems for a historian. After separating mythology from historical facts, it may be possible to reconstruct genuine history with the help of the Purāṇas.

CHAPTER V

MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION

1. *Mythology in Agni-purāṇa :*—The *Agni-purāṇa* in its mythological account sums up the beliefs current at the time of the compilation of the relevant chapters. Hence, the *Purāṇa* treats with the mythology of Hinduism in its sectarian form, when various sects advocating the worship of a particular deity had already arisen. This mythological account presents in a synthetic manner mythological ideas of different ages. The mythological scheme adopted in the *Agni-purāṇa* is fundamentally based on the conception of trinity, comprising Brahmā, Visṇu and Maheśa or Śiva, representing three cosmic forces. Some deities of the *Ṛgvedic* pantheon also find references here and there, though they are not of much consequence in the general scheme. The gods like Varuṇa, Sūrya, Indra etc., occupy a place of secondary importance in the Purāṇic pantheon. Important *Ṛgvedic* gods like Savitā, Mitra, Varuṇa Pūṣan etc. are described merely as the sons of Kāśyapa and Aditi.[1] This Kāśyapa with his wife Diti is also responsible for the race of the demons through his two sons Hiraṇyakaśipu and Hiraṇyākṣa, and a daughter named Siṁhikā,[2] Thus, the important Ṛgvedic gods are merely described as twelve Ādityas, the sons of Kāśyapa and Aditi, *viz.* Viṣṇu, Śakra (Indra), Tvaṣṭā, Dhātā, Aryamā, Pūṣā, Vivasvān, Savitā, Mitra, Varuṇa, Bhaga and Aṁśu. These gods, with the exception of a few, are important merely as sons of Kāśyapa and Aditi, and they do not play any other role in the *Purāṇa*.

2. *Synthetic effort :*—In this account of the gods and the demons a synthetic effort may clearly be noticed. Though

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[1] *Agn.* 19/1–3; These Ādityas may be compared with the seven Ameshaspantas in Zoroastrianism.

[2] *Ibid.* 19/5–6.

the wars between the gods and the demons (*Devāsurasaṅgrāma*) form an important theme of the Purāṇic accounts in general, still an effort is made to describe the gods and the demons as the descendants of the same primeval sage Kāśyapa. This synthetic effort is a definite improvement on the scheme of the Vedic mythology, where the gods and demons do not have any common ties, some of the demons being associated with the aborigines. In the *Ṛgvedic* period, the gods and the demons belonged altogether to different camps and were always antagonistic, whereas the Purāṇic gods and demons possess common parentage.

3. *Viṣṇu* :—In the *Agni-purāṇa*, Viṣṇu seems to be the most important god. He is described under several names, most common being Hari, Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva. In the cosmogonical account,[1] he is described as ~~the~~ sole cause of the universe. He is assigned the credit of indulging in the sport of creation.[2] Though Saguṇa, he is described as Aguṇa, entering into Prakṛti and Puruṣa to agitate them. Thus, the first impulse in the process of creation proceeds form him. He is also mentioned in the list of the twelve Ādityas, the sons of Kāśyapa and Aditi. Thus, his relationship with the earlier pantheon is also recognised. Greater stress is laid on the material (*Saguṇa*) aspect of the god. He is represented as a personal god, having Lakṣmī as his consort and Garuḍa as his attendant conveyance (*Vāhana*). He has discus, club, conch-shell, bow and arrows, the Vaijayantī (garland of wild flowers), the mystic mark Śrīvatsa, the Kaustubha gem and the Digpālas i. e. the deities of the quarters. These are the paraphernalia and the attendants of the great god[3]. The references from the *Agni-purāṇa*[4] clearly indicate that devotion to Viṣṇu formed an important item in the religious programme, and thus the cult of Viṣṇu commanded, perhaps, great popularity. This popularity,

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1. *Ibid.* chap. 17; 2. *Ibid.* 17/1; 3. *Ibid.* 23/15–17;
4. 25/49–50; 38–40; 24/34–37; 41, 56–59; 27/9–12, 34.

as references from the *Agni-purāṇa* show, was not merely confined to the domain of devotional religion, it had also permeated its ritualistic aspect. The Viṣṇu cult and *Tāntricism* had also influenced each other, and this aspect of religion is clearly reflected in the *Agni-purāṇa*. The Viṣṇu-cult had also permeated the domain of philosophy. In the cosmognical account of the *Agni-purāṇa*[1] all the creative processes are assigned to Viṣṇu. He replaced the Supreme Reality (*Brahma*) of the Vedic systems of philosophy.[2] Thus, it may be inferred that during the period when the *Agni-purāṇa* was finalised, Viṣṇu had attained such a position of eminence that other deities were, more or less, subordinated to him. The *Avatāra* theory, according to which the Supreme Being is described as descending on the earth in one form or other for the redemption of human beings, revolves round Viṣṇu, and this established his superiority over other deities.[3] The *Purāṇa*[4] gives details of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu *viz.* fish, tortoise, boar, man-lion, dwarf, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalkī.

4. Śiva :—Besides the dominance of Viṣṇu, the account of Śiva and his consort Umā or Gaurī, and his sons Gaṇeśa and Skanda forms an integral part of the mythological scheme of the *Agni-purāṇa*.

5. *Conclusion* :—Thus, the mythological scheme of the *Agni-purāṇa* comprises, in main, the account of the two gods Viṣṇu and Śiva, the pivot round which revolves the whole scheme. Besides these two gods, other gods and goddesses of lesser importance also occur in the scheme. The Vedic gods have lost their importance; they are merely described as the sons of Kāśyapa and Aditi. Both the gods and the demons are traced to the same ancestry.

6. *Religion in the Agni-purāṇa* :—The religion as depicted in the *Agni-purāṇa* mainly comprises the cult of devotion to

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[1] 25/1–3, 11–15; 17/1–2; 29/1, 39–42; [2] *Agn.* 17/1–2 ff.
[3] *Ibid.* 2/2, C. F. *B. G.* 4/7–8; [4] Chap. 2–16.

the gods and goddesses of Hindu pantheon as also ritualistic and *Tāntric* practices. The *Purāṇa* mainly advocates the *Bhakti* of Viṣṇu as Hari, Vāsudeva or Nārāyaṇa. For a major portion of the *Purāṇa,* the cult of Viṣṇu is the guiding principle.

Even in the portion dealing with philosophy, the highest reality is identified with Hari or Viṣṇu. Hari is also regarded as the redeemer of humanity, for which he takes various incarnations. Sincere devotion to this important god is advocated in many a chapter. The image of the god is to be worshipped in especially erected temples with all necessary formalism and ceremonies. The image of the god should be paraded on particular occasions through the streets of the city. The details of the worship of the god are given rather exhaustively, even a list of the flowers dear to the god finds place in the account. There are also references to sacred mark to be borne on the forehead as a sign of respect for and devotion to the god, a practice that is in vogue even today in most parts of India.

7. *Devotion to Śiva :*—Advocacy of the worship of Śiva comes next in importance in the *Agni-purāṇa.* The chapters in the *Purāṇa* smacking of Śiva influence have as their narrator Īśvara i. e. Śiva. Śiva–worship assumes the form of phallic worship, which, according to some authority, may be traced even to pre–Vedic times associated with the aborigines. It was, perhaps, adopted by the Aryans to fit in whith the worship of Rudra, Śiva or Mahādeva, the important god of the Vedic Saṁhitās, especially the *Yajurveda.* Details regarding the construction of temples in honour of the god and the phallus, its material, size etc. are also given. Thus, in several chapters the predominance of Śaivite influence is easily noticeable. Devotion to Śiva is advocated both directly and indirectly. The *Purāṇa*[1] clearly smacks of Śaivism, when it describes in details the worship of Śiva with all his parapher-

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[1] Chap. 71–106;

nalia. In the account of Śiva worship, the narrator is Īśvara i. e. Śiva, just as in the portion dealing with Viṣṇu-worship, the narrator is Bhagavān. Besides, there are scattered passages[1] in the *Purāṇa*, which advocate Śiva cult and give ceremonial details about the worship of the cult. The phallic worship is also described as forming an integral part of Śiva-worship, details of which are not wanting. Śiva is also associated with Rudra, a term that is regarded as an important nomenclature for the god. Thus, it is possible to trace this god to the Vedic period, especially to the *Yajurveda*. Like Viṣṇu, Śiva is also regarded as an all-powerful god identical with the Supreme Brahman, other deities being regarded merely as his different manifestations.[2] Obeisance to Śiva (*Namaḥ Śivāya*) is the sacred formula dear to the god, which is sure to confer the god's own bliss on the devotee. Besides, certain Vedic[3] hymns are also dear to the god, a recital of which is quite imperative for the proper performance of the worship.

8. *Phallus-worship*—The god is generally worshipped in the form of a phallus. The phallic emblem is descrived as being made of different substances *viz.* common salt, clarified butter, piece of cloth, clay, wood, stone, pearl, gold, iron. silver, copper, brass, zinc. mercury, etc. The worship of different phallic emblems is effective in various ways. The *Purāṇa* remarks[4], "In fact Hara can be worshipped everywhere, his full and complete worship in its entirety being possible in a *Liṅgam* only, which in the case of being a stone or a wooden one shall measure a cubit in length". Details of the installation of the phallic emblem are also given.[5]

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[1] *Agn.* Chap. 296, 297, 301, 304, 317, 324–326.

[2] *Ibid.* 304/1–3;

[3] *Rg.* X, 90 (*Puruṣasūkta*), *Yaju.* XXXIV, 1–6 (Siva-Saṅkalpa Mantras) etc.;

[4] chap. 54/7; [5] chap. 92,95 etc.

9. *Mystic syllables and diagrams* :—Mystic syllables and mystic diagrams also play an important role in the worship of Śiva and here the Tāntric influence is clearly noticeable. The mystic syllables or Mantras as also the diagrams, which are to be worshipped by the devotees, are regarded as capable of yielding great and wonderful results. Some element of black magic and superstitions is also clearly discernible. A reference is made to *Pāśupata Mantra.*[1] The ephicacy of the mystic syllable *Phaṭ* is highly extolled in the Mantra. Another important Mantra, which is based on the well-known *Gāyatrī* Mantra of the *Ṛgvēda*, regards Śiva as the highest Divinity that impells human beings to righteousness[2]. Several other Mantras[3] are described, which are regarded as capable of dispelling death, warding off diseases and illuding an enemy and a thief. A close study of the references to Śiva and his worship in the *Purāṇa* clearly shows that the Tāntric elements had moulded the form of the worship to a great extant. Śiva's consort Umā or Gaurī, and his sons Gaṇeśa and Skanda are also the object of veneration and worship. The *Purāṇa* gives all the details of their worship. Other gods and goddesses that find mention in the *Agnt-purāṇa* are not of much conseequence, but details regarding their worship, its formalism etc. are not lacking.

10. Thus, a close study of the various gods and goddesses, that find mention in the *Agni-purāṇa*, clearly shows that the practical side of the religion was stressed more than the mythological one. Various gods and goddesses are not described in their mythological setting, as is the case with other Purāṇas, but they are described in the setting of practical religion. Hence, from the mythological point of view, the references are not of great importance.

11. *Ritualism* :—Ritualism is another important aspect of the religion of the *Agni-purāṇa*. A regular scheme of forma-

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[1] *Agn.* 322/1 ff.

[2] *Ibid.* 318/7; 823/19;

[3] *Ibid..* chap. 323, 324 etc.

lism and ceremonials had developed round the worship of a particular deity Viṣṇu, Śiva, Rudra, Gaṅeśa, etc. The worship was full of ritualistic ceremonies to be performed by the members of the priestly class. Such ceremonies were invariably accompanied by the recital of Vedic hymns, which was regarded as indispensible on such occasions. Certain rites are described in details, such as the ceremonal ablution to be performed before undertaking any religious[1] rite, the rite of fixing fire, dimenisons and structure of the fire-pit, the sacrificial spoon and laddle, and their dimensions, the adjustment of the vessels and utensils around the sacred fire-pit and their purification,[2] the rite of initiation, the preparation and purification of the sacrificial ground, the decoration and purification of the sarificial *Maṇḍala*,[3] the sacrificial rites performed at the doors of the *Maṇḍala*, the adjustment of the sacrificial pitchers; the worship of Hari and the rite of final *Homa*,[4] consecration of a temple to the gods,[5] and the divine[6] images, religious ceremoies in connection with laying the fonndations of a temple, hymns to the bricks, to the earth-goddess and the accompanying rite of *Vāstuyāga*,[7] the rite of installing an idol in a temple, the rite of *Siṁha Homa* and religious ceremonies to be performed in the wood before sculpturing an image,[8] the rite or consecratory ablution, the triumphal leading of the idol from the sculptor's shed to the sacrificial chamber, the installation of the image in the *Maṇḍapa*, accompanied by the recital of the proper hymns, rituals in connectton with the divine toilette, the ceremonial ablution of the image, its consecration, offering of food, flowers[9] etc., the rite of consecration of divine images in general[10], consecration of tanks, and ponds, the religious ceremony attendant on such an act[11] consecration of the images of the gods and spiritual beings such as the sun etc., the rite of accympanying *Homa*, the subsequent rite of worshipping the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Īśa[1], the rite of repairing old images or replacing a disfigured idol by a new one[2], the rite of consecrating trees and fruit-gardens[3], the rite of daily ablution and offering of libations of water to the gods and preceptors[4], and the rite of kindling the sacrificial fire etc.[5]

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[1] chap. 22. [2] chop. 24. [3] chap. 27.

[4] chap. 34. [5] chap. 38. [6] chap. 39.

[7] chap. 41, [8] chap. 43. [9] chap. 38.

[10] chap. 62. [11] chap. 64.

12. *Influence of ritualism and Bhakti* :—The exhaustive list of the ritualistic elements incorporated in the religion of the *Agni-purāṇa* clearly shows that the ritualistic ceremonials formed an important item in the religious programme, which could not be accompalished without the aid of the priestly classes. This clearly explains the interaction of the ritualism of the Brāhmṇas on the popular cult of *Bhakti*. Commencing from the laying down of the bricks for the construction of a temple upto the carving of an image and its installation in the temple, every stage in the process was full of ritualism and ceremonialism[6].

13. *Tāntric element* :—The third important factor in the religion of the *Agni-purāṇa* is the mystic element of Tāntricism,[7] which was a very strong religious force in the eastern part of India during rhe earlier centuries of the mediaveal period. The mystic diagrams, as also mystic syllables, form an important item according to the *Agnī-purāṇa* in the woaship of a particular deity. The mystic element, that has crept into the *Agni-purāṇa*, may be summed up as the practice of Mantra in a temple subsequent to the worship of the god Hari, delineation of the mystic diagram on the ground, adjustment of the different Bījas in the chambers of the diagram, the worship of

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[1] chap. 66.
[2] chap. 67.
[3] chap. 70.
[4] chap. 72.
[5] chap. 75.
[6] *Agn.* 66/5–12;

[7] *H. D.* Vol. I, Part II, p. 900 "In the *Matya-purāṇa*, the *Agni purāṇa*, the *Nṛsiṁha-purāṇa*, the *Nirṇaya Sindhu* and many other works, there are descriptions of the consecration of the images of Vāsudeva, of a *liṅga* or other deities. In these works following Tāntric practices, three kinds of न्यास *viz.* मातृकान्यास, तत्त्वन्यास and मन्त्रन्यास are referred to.

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para-Brahma (the Supreme Being) and of the boar manifestation of Vāsudeva in the first lotus, division of the alter into a number of chambers[1], the mode of worshipping the differeent deities and spiritual beings in different parts of the mystic diagram, the worship of the twenty-six forms of Puruṣottama in the plain of the mystic diagram, the rite *Rajaḥpaṭa*—colouring of the petals and causeways of the mystic lotus-shaped diagram, the Mantras of purification etc. and the number of times they are to be repeated on the occasion, the forms of the god Hari, the subtle and the universal Bīja sacred to the god supposed to be implanted in the heart in the form of a Kadamba[2] tree, the rite of Adhivāsanam (act of sitting close), the formation of the material body of a man and enumeration of the Mantras, which represent those material principles, the rites of Nyāsa in connection with the Adhivāsana ceremony[3], the Mantras by which the three worlds can be enchanted,[4] the Mantra sacred to the goddess of fortune[5], the Mantra for worshipping the goddess Tvaritā[6], the rite of initiation with a mystic diagram[7], the Mantra for realizing one's desire, the mystic diagram of *Sarvato Bhadra*[8] Maṇḍala, the Mantra for curing diseases and warding off death etc.[9]

14. *Vratas* :-Various Vrates[10] and the attendant gifts[11] form another important feature of the religion of the *Agni-purāṇa*, a trait that is noticeable in the popular Hinduism of the present day. The *Purāṇa* notes in details the various Vratas comprising fasts, ceremonies and penances to be observed, performend and practised equally by men and women on particular days of the weeks or when the sun passes over the new zodical signs or on the occasion of different phases of the moon. Rules of

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1. *Agn*. chap. 29.
2. *Ibid*. chap. 30.
3 *Ibid*. chap. 59;
4. *Ibid*. chap. 307;
5. *Ibid*. chap. 308;
6. *Ibid*. chap. 309;
7. *Ibid*. chap. 311;
8. *Ibid*. chap. 320;
9. *Ibid*. chap. 323.
10. *Ibid*. chap. 175–200, 207–209;
11. *Ibid*. chap. 208, 210–213.

self-control, which are known as the *Niyamas*, when confirmed to and carried out in actual life, constitute what is known as *Tapas*. The *Niyamas* are so called from the fact of their enjoining the subjugation (*Niyama*) of the senses. For the Brāhamaṇas not maintaining sacrificial fire, the Vratas can secure good will of the gods and consequent enjoyment in this life and life hereafter. The *Upavāsa* or fast constitutes an important item in the observation of a Vrata. It includes abstaining from the gratification of the senses or indulgence in worldly pleasures. A man undertaking fast should avoid committing sin and evil. He should avoid eating grains, and sexual intercourse with women. Forbearance, truthfulness, mercifulness, charity, purity, control over the senses, worship of the gods, kindling sacrificial fire and contentment are the fundamental virtues to be cultivated while observing all kinds of Vratas. During the observation of the Vratas, several restrictions are laid down on diet.[1]

15. *Tithi Vratas*:—The foregoing account indicates the general manner and nature of the vows to be observed by persons desirous of acquiring righteousness. The observance of these vows was regarded as essential in a religious-minded society. Besides this general treatment of the vows, the *Purāṇa* devotes several chapters to the treatment of various Vratas associated wiih the various Tithis (dates of the lunar month). All the dates belonging to some lunar months are associated with various Vratas. The Vratas associated with particular dates, months, Nakṣatras, seasons etc. are also dealt with. These Vratas are invariably associated with gifts to the Brāhmaṇas and the preceptor. In the absence of a suitable gift, a Vrata is considered to be not at all effective.

16. *Pilgrimage*:—Going on pilgrimage to the sacred places is also considered to be a religious duty, adding to the religious merit of the piigrim. The *Agni-purāna* discusses the impor-

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[1] Details about the actual observance of Vratas are given in the *Agn*. 175/18–23, 44–50, 62.,

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tance of visiting sacred places, with their detailed account[1]. Of all the rivers, the Gaṅgā and the Narmadā come for special treatment, and of the towns, Prayāga (Allahabad) situated on the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, Vārāṇasī (Benares) and Gayā command the greatest attention. Whole chapters are devoted to the description of their religious importance. Besides, several other places, towns, rivers, mountains etc. located in different parts of India find a clear mention[2].

17. *Sacred places*:–Puṣkara, a lake near Ajmer, is regarded as an important place of pilgrimage, the greatest of all sacred places in respect of sanctity and merit. There are millions of sacred places in Puṣkara to be visited by a pilgrim[3]. Somanātha (Saurāṣṭra), Prabhāsaka (Gujarat), Dvārakā (Saurāṣṭra), Kumārakoṭi (Cape Camorine), Vinaśana, Kurukṣetra (near Delhi), Vārāṇasī (Benares), Rajargṛha (Bihar), Avantī (Ujjain), Kanakhala (near Haridwar), Ayodhyā etc, are some of the important sacred places, which should be visited by the pilgrims. The rivers Sindhu, Sarasvatī, Narmadā, Carmaṇavatī, together with the Godāvarī, Tuṇgabhadrā, Kāverī, Varadā, Tāpī, Payasvinī, Revā etc. are very sacred. So also the forests Daṇḍaka and Naimiṣa are very sacred. A visit to these places by the pilgrim ensures earthly enjoyment and salvation here-after.

18. *Witch-craft, Supersttions etc.*:—Witchcraft, black magic and superstitions are also included in the religious beliefs of the *Agni-purāṇa*[4], which gives several incantations (*Mantras*) that can ward off evil, remove desires and even kill one's enemies[5]. Bringing about the death of one's own enemy, and incantation for obtaining victory in the three worlds[6] are all described. Then follows the account of the charm[7] that

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[1] *Agn.* chap. 109–116.

[2] *Ibid.* chap. 109;

[3] *Ibid.* 109/5.

[4] chap. 124–141.

[5] *Agn.* chap. 124

[6] *Ibid.* chap. 13[illegible];

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 136.

brings death or pastilence,[1] drugs and articles of mysterious virtues, the medicinal or curative incantations[2]. etc.,

19. *Popular Hinduism* :—A critical perusal of the portions in the *Agni-purāṇa* dealing with mythology and religion reveals that the *Purāṇa* reflects the religious conditions of India in the post-Gupta-period (roughly 6th or 7th century A. D. to 9th or 10th century A. D.). The religion so reflected is the popular form of Hinduism as practised by the masses in their every day life. An analytical study of these religious beliefs and practices shows, how the popular Hinduism was constituted of diverse elements *viz.* ritualism, the cult of devotion embodying worship of a perticular deity, pilgrimage to the sacred places, observance of various religious vows on particular occasions, Tāntric mysticim, superstitions, witchcraft etc. Most of these topics are described exhaustively. The popular Hinduism as revealed in the *Agni-pruāṇa* is of a composite nature. It is the result of the process of the religious evolution spread over so many centuries. It embodies several chronological, ethnological and cultural strata. The pure and simple nature-worship, the ethical and metaphysical conceptions of the Ṛgvedic Aryans, as also the ritualistic practices of the priestly classes got mixed up with the magic and witchcraft and other occult practices of the aborigines. The *Agni–purāṇa* stresses all these religious aspects. The sanctity of the Vedic Mantras and the efficacy of their recital is never lost sight of. The Vedic hymns are to be recited on all ceremonial occasions. The ritualistic ceremonies are to be performed to the accomaniment of the Vedic recital. Besides, the cult of devotion is also regarded as an important religious factor in the *Purāna*. Devotion to Viṣṇu, Śiva or other minor gods, as also various goddesses, mostly the consorts of the male deities, is the cardinal principle of religious life of the *Purāna*. This religious trait was also responsible for the growth of temple architecture, which is noted in the *Purāna*. This religious phase seems to have

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[1] *Ibid*. chap. 139.

[2] *Ibid*. chap. 141.

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been so very popular that the *Purāna* does not fail to give details about the images and their consecration and installation in the temples, and the various ceremonies associated with those images. Various religious observances (Vrataș) and visits to the sacred places are also regarded as a necessary ingredient of religious practices in the *Purāna*. Besides, the *Purāna* has noted the contribution of the aborigines to the development of religion in the form of the element of magic, superstition, witchcraft, as also the occult practices of Tāntricism. The importance attached to this aspect of religion in the *Purāna* clearly shows what a great hold did the aboriginal beliefs and practices exercise on the popular mind. Thus, the *Purāna* reveals the composite nature of popular Hinduism together with the diverse elements that constitued it.

20. *Conclusion :*—Thus, the foregoing survey of the mythology and religion in the *Agni-purāna* clearly shows that the *Purāna* has embodied the popular form of Hinduism based on the earlier tenets of the Vedic period, the cult of Bhakti, ritualism and Tāntric mysticism are its main–stay and it possesses a tinge of magic, witchcraft and superstions. This phase of Hinduism is existent even at the present day. Hence religion of the *Agni-puraaṇ* is of living interest as far as the generality of the people is concerned.

CHAPTER VI

PHILOSOPHY AND COSMOGONY

1. *Introductory* :—The *Agni-purāṇa*, one of the later Purāṇas, embodies topics bearing on philosophy and cosmogony. Some of these topics may also be noticed in the case of the earlier Purāṇas like the *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu*, *Matsya*, etc., which reveal the influence of Sāṅkhya and other systems of philosphy. But the theory of creation, though based on philosophical doctrines, inclines more towards theism. The subject of philosophy, is also treated separately quite independent of the cosmogonical account. Thus, in the case of the *Agni-purāna*, the two topics of philosophy and cosmogony should be treated separately.

2. *Philosophy* :—By the time the *Agni-purāṇa* was compiled all the schools of philosophy were developed and the original Sūtras, various commentaries and the writings of the subseqent exponents of different schools had come into being. But the *Agni-purāna* gives the gist of merely two systems i. e. the Yoga and the Vedānta bassed, in all probability, on their original sources. The *Bhagvadgītā* and the *Yamagītā*[1] are also summarised. The philosophical topics discussed in the *Purāna* may be sumed up as–eight fundamentals of the Yoga[2] system, Vedānta system, knowledge of Brahma, attributes of Brahma, *Advaitism*[3] etc., summaries of the *Bhagvadgītā*[4] and the *Yamagītā*[5].

3. *Aṣṭāṅga Yoga:*—The *Agni-purāna* describes the eight-fold Yoga. Yoga, which is explained as concentration of mind, is the knowledge that shows forth Brahma[6]. The definition of Yoga as given in *Yoga–sūtras* is adopted[7]. It is defined as con-

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[1] Naciketas legend of the *Kath* VI, 14;

[2] *Agn.* chap. 372–376;

[3] *Ibid.* chap. 377–380;

[4] *Ibid.* 381;

[5] *Ibid.* chap. 382.

[6] *Ibid.* 372/1;

[7] *Ibid.* 372/2 C. F. *Yoga.* I, 2.

trol over the working of mind by which communion between Jīva and Brahma is established. Thus, it is Yoga based on Vedānta. Then follows a detailed account of the eight *Aṅgas* of Yoga, which are *Yama*, Niyama, Āsana, Prāṇāyāma, Pratyāhāra, Dhyāna, Dhāraṇā and Samādhi.

4. *Yama and Niyama*[1] :—The Yamas or restraints are five—Ahiṁsā (non-injury to life), Satya (truthfulness), Asteya (non-stealing), Brahmacarya (restraint over the senses), and Aparigraha (spirit of detachment or non-acceptance of gifts). The five Niyamas are—Śauca (Purity), Santoṣa (contentment), Tapas (Austerity), Svādhyāya (study of religious texts) and Iśvara–pūjana (worship of the gods). The fifth observance, according to the *Yoga–Sūtras* is *Īśvara–praṇidhāna* i. e. contemplation of God and not *Īśvara–pūjana* i. e. worship of the god. This clearly indicates the theistic tinge in the philosophical account of the *Agni-purāṇa*.

5, *Āsana, Prāṇāyāma, Pratyāhāra*:[2]—Āsana (posture) is an important factor in Yogic practices. According to Patañjali, the posture should be firm and pleasant to prepare the mind for meditation and contemplation. But the latar writers developed a variety of these postures helpful in the attainment of different Yogic successes. In the *Agni-purāṇa*,[3] only Padmāsana (lotus–posture) is mentioned, which is essential for proper meditation and contemplation. Prāṇāyāma (breath-control) is the control of one's breath, and it has three factors, Recaka, Pūraka and Kumbhaka. With right knowledge, a spirit of detachment, practice of breath–control and control over the senses every thing can be brought under one's subjection. The body is compared to a chariot, the senses to the horses, the mind to the charioteer and breath-control to a goad. Pratyāhāra is forcible withdrawl of the senses from worldly enjoyment in which they get engrossed[4].

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[1] *Aga*. chap. 372

[2] *Ibid*. chap. 373;

[3] 373/1–3;

[4] *Agn*. 373/1–20.

6. *Dhyāna*[1] :—The word Dhyāna is derived from the root *Dhyai* meaning to concentrate upon, to contemplate, and denotes the sense of maditation of Viṣṇu with concentrated mind. Here Yoga is mixed with Viṣṇu cult[2]. It also means the unconditioned self being merged with the eternal Brahma, or it indicates a state of mind, when it completely merges itself with the object of meditation and complete identity between the two is established[3]. One who having practised such a contemplation leaves his body, redeems his relatives and friends, and himself becomes Hari[4]. By means of the practice of Yoga, a person endowed with right knowledge, a spirit of detachment, right faith, forbearance etc., attains final emancipation. A devotee of Viṣṇu should contemplate upon the god, and having given up sacrificial acts, should intensely practise Yoga[5].

7. *Dhāraṇā*[6] ;—It is the retention in mind of the object of contemplation. It has two stages—(i) with image of the object of contemplation, and (ii) without any such image. Dhāraṇā signifies constant contemplation of mind on a particular object withont deviating, in any way, from it. Even physical ailments can be removed by Dhāraṇā. Certain mystic figures are also to be the object of Dhārāṇa, and this makes the Yogī possess wonderful occult powor.

8. *Samādhi*[7]:—Samādhi is the last stage of Yoga. It denotes a state of mind when the Yogin has merely the consciousness of Ātman, and his mind is calm and quiet like a pacified sea or lake. In this state, a Yogin loses all sense-perception. He is just like a log of wood spiritually resting in the Supreme Brahman. He attains wonderful powers, when he gets absorbed in the contemplation of Paramātman in the form of Viṣṇu. Such a Yogin gets spontaneously the knewledge of various branches of learning.

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[1] *Agn.* chap. 374;
[2] *Ibid.* 374/1.
[3] *Ibid.* 374/2–3.
[4] *Ibid.* 374/5.
[5] *Ibid.* 7–9; 16, 38.
[6] *Ibid.* 375/1–22;
[7] *Ibid.* chap. 376.

9. *Conclusion:*—Thus, the *Agnī-pnrāṇa* describes all the eight stages of Yoga in details and shows how a Yogin attains mystical and occult powers, and ultimately becomes one with the Supreme Brahman[1]. The *Purāṇa* has merely tried to sum up the teachings of the *Yogasūtras* of Patañjali, but bases it on the Viṣṇu cult and the Vedānta theory of unity of Jīva and Brahman.

10. *Vedānta system:*—The *Agni-purāṇa* makes no direct reference to the Vedānta system as such or the various theories about the identity of Jīva and Brahma associated with the names of various teachers of Vedānta philosophy. It deals at some length with the fundamental doctrine of the Vedānta *viz.* the identity between Jīva and Brahma as suggested by Śaṅkara. The *Purāṇa*[2] discusses, avoiding alll technicalities, the identity between Brahma and Jīva naming the topic as Brahma-Vijñāna (knowledge of Brahma), and also *Advaita Brahma-Viñāna* (knowledge of nondual Brahma) for the removal of ignorance. The realisation that Ātman is the Supreme Brahma and "*I am Brahma*" constitutes such knowledge. The physical body cannot be Ātman, because like an earthen pot it is visible. During sleep and death the distinction between the body and the soul can cartainly be made[3], Ātmā is quite different from the senses, consciousness and egoism. It is different from all the categories and resides in the heart of each individual. He is a witness to all and also the enjoyer, and as brilliant as a bright lamp during night[4]. All the material existence is also due to Supreme Brahma. Ākāśa (ether) has emnated from Brahman, air from ether, fire from air, from fire water earth and from earth the subtle body. From five gross elements in an uncombined state, this material body has come into being in a process of fusion[5]. Ultimately, all phenomenal existence rests in the Supreme Brahman and emnates from him.

11. *Identity between Brahman and Ātman :*—The realisation of the Supreme Brahman should be the objective of every

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[1] *Ibid.* 376/1–5.
[2] chap. 377–380.
[3] *Agn.* 377/1–2;
[4] *Ibid.* 377/3–7.
[5] *Ibid.* 377/8–12.

human endeavour. This cannot be achieved by sacrifices or religous rites. For its attainment the senses, that give us external knowledge, should be ahhinilated and the Ātman shold be in communion with Brahma. For all this, the realisation must come that Ātman is not in the least connected with the ignorance or illusion that brings about the existence of the phenomenal world. It is pure and eternal Brahma, the Supreme light. The *Agni-purāṇa* repeats this idea of the identity between Ātmā and Brahma in several ways and tries to distinguish it from the various categories of the phenomenal world.

12. *Synthesis af divergent views* :—After emphasizing the great truth about the ultimate Reality, the Brahman, the *Agni-purāṇa* makes a synthetic effort to harmonise the divergent views about the Supreme Being leading to divergent forms of worship, but the place of honour is assigned to the Vedāntic theory about the ultimate Reality. Religious sacrifieces and worship of the gods may take a man to heaven, the abode of the gods, the austerities to the Vairājya region, *Karma-sanyāsa* (renunciation of all actions) to merging in the Supreme Brahma, Vairāgya (spirit of detachment) to submergenco into *Prakṛti* (matter), and knowledge (*Jñāna*) to *Kaivalya* (final emancipation). These are the five courses left to human beings.[1] Here, knowledge is regarded as the best course for the attainment of the final emancipation, which consists in discriminating real from the unreal. The Supreme Brahma is the receptacle of all and is called the Supreme God. In the Vedas and in the books of Vedānta philosophy, he is invoked and hymnised by the epithet of Viṣṇu. Knowledge is of two kinds, (i) derived from the scriptures, and (ii) derived from the momentarineas of the phenomenal existence. *Śabda Brahma* may be attained by the knowledge the scriptures, and *Para Brahma* is attained by the knowledge of nothingness of the world. This sort of realisation is known as *Jñāna*[2] *Yoga*. Here the term Yoga is not used in a restricted

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[1] *Ibid.* 379/1–2; [2] *Ibid.* 379/6–8;

sense of a particular systen of philosophy but in a wider sense of a praetical scheme to attain the absolute, in which sense the word is also used in the *Bhagvadgītā*. Then, a reference is made to Yoga imparted by Keśidhvaja to Khāṇḍikya Janaka[1] according to which in this illusionary world a clear distinction is to be made between Ātman and non-Ātman. The importance of Advaitism is illustrated by means of two episodes, (i) the sage Bhavata's rebirth as a decrepit and his conversation with the king of Sauvīra, whose[2] palanquin he was forced to bear during which he nicely explained the distinction between the real and the unreal, and (ii) discourse between Nidāgha and Ṛta, the son of Brahmā,[3] who was well-versed in the knowledge of Supreme Being.

13. *Gāthā or Gītā*.—The term Gītā as a literary form may be traced to Gāthā or Gīta to which references are made in the earlier litarature in connection with some event of importance. The Gāthās in the Brāhmaṇa literature, as also the dialogue hymns in the *Ṛgveda* are to the point. It may conveniently be inferred that in old days, it may have been a popular custom to commemorate events of importance illustrating royal valour etc. by means of popular songs known as Gāthās or Gītas. When the Purāṇic literature came to be compiled and began to assume its present form, these Gāthās and Gītas were utilised, and occasionally definite references were made to them. The extant *Bhagavadgītā* may also be traced to this practise. The Gāthā sung by Yayāti[4] may easily stand comparison with certain verses from the Gīta with the same import, and may perhaps be regarded as a precursor of the *Bhagavadgītā*, which may have originally been a Gīta in the crude from, perhaps, similar to Yayāti Gāthā, but later on elaborated in a polished form by some writers and came to be embodied in the great

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[1] *Ibid.* 379/15. ff, [2] *Ibid.* 380/1-44.

[3] *Ibid.* 380/45-62;

[4] *Vā* 93/94; The verses 95-101 may easily stand comparison with certain verses from the *Gītā* with the same import;

epic. Thus, it became a great treatise of philosophical import. If this could be accepted, the importance of the Purāṇas aa a source of great literary inspiration in various branches of knowledge can hardly be overestimated. Thus, the Gītā form represents a particular literary tradition, which had popularity for its special feature.

14. *Bhagavadgītā :—The Agni-purāṇa* begins its aummary of the *Bhagavadgītā* with the account of the real nature of Ātman[1] i. e. self, which is free from the bondage of birth and death. It never dies, it is never born, it cannot suffer any pangs or sorrow. All these are attributable to the physical body, which is perishable. The spirit of attachmant towards the phenomenal existence is the cause of all troubles; hence it should be abandoned. As a result of this, the ignorance will vanish away and true knowledge will dawn. A man should always bear in mind the distinction between the self and non-self. All stress is laid on the omniscience and omnipresence of the absolute Brahman, who is described as pervading every[2] thing. The physical body, which enshrines the spirit, is called the *Kṣetra* and the subject possessing this knowledge is called *Kṣetrajña*. When composed of primary material principles, sense of egoism, the invisible process of intellection, the ten senses, the five objects of sense-perception, will, desire, euvy, pleasure, pain, the concourse of sensations and their mutual antagonism and comprehension etc., it is called the qualified *Kṣetra*[3]. Reference is made to the three Guṇas–Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. Sattva gives rise to knowledge. which is for the spiritual betterment. Rajas leads to greed and Tamas to wrong notices and wrong deeds. There are two super-human regions, where roads lead from the mundane existence; one is called divine and the other demonic. Good deeds lead to the first and bad ones to the other. Highest acts are *Sāttvika,* which originate from disinterested motives, next come the *Rājas*

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[1] *Agn*. 381/2 ff.

[2] *Ibid*. 381/3–10;

[3] *Ibid*. 381/20–22;

acts, which have got the attainment of some worldly object as the impelling force, and the Tāmasa acts are responsible for wrong and sinful acts, which are to be discarded[1]. The only thing that man ought to know and which brings about his final emancipation is the knowledge of true self, which is represented by the formula *Om Tat Sat.*[2]

15. *Yama-gītā :*—The *Agni-purāṇa* devotes one chapter[3] to the summing of *Yama-gītā,* which was related to Naciketas by the god of death.[4] The legend of Naciketas, describing his discourse with the god of death, may be traced to the *Kāṭhaka*[5] *Upaniṣad,* where the problem of life and death is beautifully discussed in the form of a dialogue between a Brāhmaṇa boy Naciketas and the god of death Yama. Naciketas, on reaching the abode of Yama, is asked to accept the choice of three boons as a compensation for the negligence shown to him for three nights. For the third boon, he wants to know whether man exists after death. Yama offers him wroldly power and riches, so that he may not insist on an answer to his question, but Naciketas is adamant. Consequently, Yama reveals to him the secret that final emancipation may be got by realising the identity of the individual soul with the world-soul.

16. *Dectrines of various teachers :*—While giving the synopsis of *Yama-gītā,* the *Purāṇa* refers to the doctrines of the various teachers about the spiritual upliftment. Referring to various gods and their worship, as also to other practises, it extols Viṣṇu, whose worship and contemplation lead to the attainment of Mokṣa. Yama said to Naciketas that not realising the momentariness of the phenomenal existence, man hankered after worldly posessions and prosperity. There can be no greater wonder than this hankering after false things. Besides Yama, there are other teachers also whose doctrines are given

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[1] *Ibid.* 381/39-47;

[2] *Ibid.* 381/48;

[3] Chap. 382;

[4] *Agn.* 382/1;

[5] VI, 14, ff.

in the Purāṇa. Kapila[1], the ancient sage, stressed that self-realisation was much greater and much more beneficial than the gratification of one's senses. The holy sage Pañchaśikha[2] inculcated the truth that eqnal conduct to all, equal estimate as regards all things at all places, annihilation of all desires and renuciation of all company were the highest good in human life. According to Gaṅgā Viṣṇu[3], true knowledge consists in the correct perspctive of the miseries of birth, youth and old age, which is the highest good in life. In the opinion of Janaka[4], guarding against the recrudescnce of the three-fold evil, Ādhyātamika, Ādhidaivika and Ādhibhautika is the highest good. According to Jaigiṣavya[5], discharge of one's duties as laid down in the Vedas brings about the ultimate good. Devala[6] suggests that anninilation of all acts or propensities will mean greatest happiness. Śaunaka[7] says that the knywledge got from the renunciation of all desires leads to Brahman or the highest good. Yet throughout the *Purāṇa* Viṣṇu cult supplies the basis for the philosophy.

17. Hari or Viṣṇu pervades the whole universs. He is the best friend of men, and he should be adored by all. The physical body is compared to a chariot of which the intellect is the charioteer, the mind the reins, the senses the horses, and their objects the whip[8]. Self or Ātman being connected with the mind and the senses is the occupant. A gradation of the various manifestations of the Supreme Brahman is also given. Higher good lies in the realisation by the individual soul that he is part and parcel of the absolute Brahman, which is possible only by correct knowledge[9].

18. *Cosmogony, general Purāṇic scheme adopted* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* in keeping with the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* theory gives an

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[1] *Agn.* 382/2–3,
[2] *Ibid*, 382/4.
[3] *Ibid*. 382/5.
[4] *Ibid*. 382/6.
[5] *Ibid*. 382/8.
[6] *Ibid*. 382/9.
[7] *Ibid*. 382–10.
[8] *Ibid*, 382/21–23.
[9] *Ibid*. 382/36.

account of the creation[1] and dissolution[2] of the universe. The tradition set up by the earlier Purāṇas like the *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu* etc. is adopted. The general Purāṇic scheme embodies Sāṅkhya theory of evolution with theistic interpretation of the creation, together with its mythological aspects. Thus, though the theory of evolution of the universe from Prakṛti and Puruṣa is adopted, the god Viṣṇu is regarded as the chief force behind all creation. In the manner of the Vedānta system, the *Agni-purāṇa* describes the creation as the sport of Viṣṇu. The account of the dissolution occurs at the end of the *Purāṇa*, and the general Pnrāṇic scheme is adopted. An account of different kinds of dissolution is given *viz.* Nitya, Naimittika, Ātyantika, etc.

19, *Viṣṇu, the creator* :—Viṣṇu is regarded as indulging in the sport of creating the universe. He is described as being both *Saguṇa* (possessing the three Guṇas–Sattva, Rajas and Tamas) or a personal god, and *Aguṇa* or the absolute self devoid of the three Guṇas[3], Brahman is also regarded as existing in the beginnings as *Avyakta Sat,* i. e. non-manifest existent. Before the creation, their was no firmament, no day, no night. Viṣṇu having entered into Prakṛti and Puruṣa agitates them and the evolution[4] starts.

20, *Synthesis between nataphysiaal absolute reality and theistic personal god :*—According to the general Purāṇic scheme, the absolute self or the neuter Brahman of the Upniṣads is regarded as existing before the creation and is responsible for the first impulse to start the evolutionary process. At times, that principle is also identified with Brahmā (the personal god of the Purāṇas). The personal god is postulated as a supervisor of the evolutionary process, as also directing the detailed processes of creation. Thus, in the Purāṇic scheme of cosmogony, there is an effort at synthesising the idea of the personal god of the theologians with the metaphysical conception of the absolute reality expounded as Brahman in the Upaniṣads. The *Agni-purāṇa* also adopts this scheme and assigns to Viṣṇu, who was one of the most popular gods during the dominance of the cult of devotion, the position of the absolute Brahman, who is regarded as both *Saguṇa* and *Aguṇa*, refuting thereby independent existence of any other reality axcept the absolute reality known as *Avyakta* (non-menifest one) or Viṣṇu, and thus inclining more rowards the monist view of the *Advaita Vedānta*, rather the dualistic view of the Sāṅkhya-system. Following the same trend of thought, the *Purāṇa* calls Brahman *Avyakta Sat* i. e. non-manifest existent one. This terminology suggests that Brahmā is the manifest form of the undeveloped or Avyakta reality, which is called Viṣṇu in the *Agni-purāṇa*. All this exposition clearly reveals how the Purāṇas especially the *Agni-purāṇa* try to bring together the divergent doctrines of theology and philosophy.

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[1] *Ibid.* chap. 17-20.

[2] *Ibid.* chap. 368, 369.

[3] *Ibid.* 17/1.

[4] *Ibid.* 17/2 ff.

21. There is a gap in the scheme of evolution of the *Agni-purāṇa*, which remains unexplained. Viṣṇu is described as enterihg Prakṛti and Puruṣa, which are two independent entities in the Sāṅkhya system. Here, Puruṣa is merely mentioned and no other function is allotted to it. And it is the *Avyakta* from which the process of evolution begins. Puruṣa is not described even as a witness while the process of evolution goes on. This may be explained by the fact that the *Agni-pnrāṇa* combines the Vedānta and Sāṅkhya concepts.

22. *Evolution :—Avyakta* (the undeveloped or absolute entity) precedes the principle of *Mahat*, from *Mahat* comes forth *Ahaṅkāra*. Then come into being *Vaikārika, Taijasa* and *Tāmasa* creations; the last consisting of the gross elements. When *Ahaṅkāra* is dominated by Sattva, the *Vaikārika* creation proceeds, when it is dominated by Rajas and Tamas Taijasa and Tāmasa creations come into being respectively. The threefold creation is further explained in still clearer terms. From the *Tāmasa Ahaṅkāra* are evolved the five Tanmātrās–Śabda (sound), Sparśa (touch). Rūpa (light), Rasa (taste)

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and Gandha (smell), which give rise respectively to five gross elements viz. Ākāśa (ether), Anil (air); Anala (fire), Āpaḥ (water) and Mahī (earth). From *Taijasa Ahaṅkāra* i. e. Ahaṅkāra dominated by Rajas come forth the organs of senses; from the *Vaikūrtka Ahaṅkāra* dominated by Sattva come forth the ten Devas and Manas (mind), the seventh organ. Then comes forward Svāyambhuva Bhagavān desirous of creating various creatures. He first created water and put seed (Vīrya) in it. The waters are called Nārāḥ as they are the sons of Nara (god). And the term Nārāyaṇa came into vogue, because the Nārāḥ (waters) were the first abode of the god[1],

23. *Hiraṇyagarbha*[2]:—The seed in the water developed in the form of a golden egg. In that egg Brahmā himself was born, who came to be known as Svayambhū. Having lived there for a year, the god Hiraṇyagarbha divided the egg into two, heaven and earth and between the two parts, the god created the sky. Ten quarters upheld the earth, when it was submarged in the waters. Being desirous of creation, Prajāpati created time, mind, speech, desire, anger, attachment etc. From lightening, he created thunderbolt and clouds, birds etc. fram his mouth he created for the successful proformance of sacrifices Sādhyās (a class of celestial beings); and the goda performed sacrifices with the help of the Vedas. From the arms, he created higher and lower creatures, and from anger Sanat Kumāra and Rudra. The seven sages Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasiṣṭha were created. They came to be known as seven mind-born sons of Brahmā. The seven sages together with the Rudras created spring. Having divided his body into two, Brahmā became male by one-half and female by the other. Thus, Brahmā started procreating in the female counter part of his.

24. *Critical estimate* :—In the foregoing account various theories are mixed up. This account embodies in nutshell the following important theories connected with the creation of

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[1] *Ibid.* 17/3-8.
[2] *Ibid.* 17/8-16.

the universe, which can be traced historically to the earliest period of the evolution of Hindu thought. The theories are, (i) the *Sāṅkhya theory of evolutton*, according to which on the agitation of the Guṇas Prakṛti starts the process of evolution, (ii) the golden egg theory, according to which the seed of God in water develops into egg, and Brahmā Svaymbhū is born therein, (iii) *Prajāpati* as *a creator*, according to which the Vedas are created from his mouth, and higher and lower creatures from his arms in the manner of *Puruṣa-sūkta*, (iv) *Maithunika Śṛṣṭi theory*, according to which Brhmā divides his body into two, male and female and the procreation starts as a result of sexual intercourse. The conception of Ardhanāriśvara may be parallelled with this view-point. Some of these view-points may be traced to metaphysical speculation and others to theological or mythological conceptions as developed from the earliest times. They may be seen in seed form even in the Ṛgvedic period.

25. *Stages in creation*[1] :—After the account of creation, there follow some details regarding the various stages in the process of creation. These stages are broadly divided into three classes-*Prākrita, Vaikārika* and Prākṛta-Vaikārika. There are these stages in the *Prākṛta viz. Mahat*, *Bhūta* and *Vaikārika*. There are five stages in the *Vaikārika viz. Mukhya, Tiryak*-śrota, *Devasarga, Mānuṣasarga* and *Anugrahasarga*, To the third category *Prākṛta Vaikārika* belongs only the *Kaumāra-sarga*. Thus, there are nine stages in creation, which may be summed up as under :—

Mahat—First appearance of Brahman is the *Mahat-sarga* i. e. the creation of the first intellectual principle.

Bhūta—The creation of Tanmātrās or subtle essence of the gross elements constitutes this stage.

Vaikārika—It is the creation of the ten Indrivas or sense-organs. These three stages constitute the category of the *Prākṛta-sarga* or the evolution of the original matter as a

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[1] Ibid. 20/1-5.

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result of the working of the principle of Buddhi[1] (which is also identified with Mahat). *Mukhya-sarga* is the main-creation consisting of the Sthāvaras or immobile objects. *Tiryakśrotas* (having oblique organs) is the creation of the various species of birds, beasts etc. *Deva-sarga* is the creation of the gods known as *Ūrdhvaśrotas*. *Mānuṣa-sarga* is the creation of human beings, also known as *Arvākśrotas*, having their organs of senses directed downwards. *Anugraha-sarga* is a stage of creation both *Sāttvika* and *Tāmasa*. These five stages of creation are known as *Vaikārika* creation. *Kaumāra* is both *Prākṛta* and *Vaikārika*. There are three forms of creation such as, *Nitya, Naimittika* and *Dainandina*.[2]

26. *Mythologicab aspect of creation* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* does not lose sight of the mythological aspect of the creation, which forms an important item in the Purāṇic cosmogony. The *Agni-purāṇa*, though not giving all the mythological details, still mentions all the salient points of the mythological aspect of cosmogony. With the object of describing *Prati-sarga* or secondary creation, to be true to the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* definition of the *Purāṇa*, it gives the mythological account of the creation.[3] Thus mythological aspect of the cosmogonical account may be classified as (i) Manu Svāyambhuva and his progeny, (ii) Dakṣa and his progeny, (iii) Kāśyapa and his progeny, and (iv) over-lordship over various regions assigned by the god Hari. Manu Svāyanbhuva[4] had two sons Priyavrata and Uttānapāda and a daughter Śatarūpā. Uttanapāda had two wives, Suruci and Sunīti. From the first, a son named Uttama was born, from the second the illustrious Dhruva, who practised austerities for the attainment of fame and thus got foremost place amongst the constellations of stars[5]. Dhruva had two sons Śiṣṭi and Bhavya through his wife Śambhū. Śiṣṭi through Succhāyā got five sons, of whom

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[1] *Ibid.* 20/2;
[2] *Ibid.* 20/7–8;
[3] Chap. 18, 19;
[4] *Agn.* 18/1–27;
[5] *Ibid.* 18/4–5.

Ripu, the eldest, got a son Cakṣuṣa through his wife Bṛhatī. Cakṣuṣa, through his wife Puṣkariṇī got Manu, known as Manu Cākṣuṣa. This Manu through Nadvatā got ten sons, of whom the eldest Ūru through Āgneyī got six sons, Aṅga, Sumanas, Śvāti, Kratu, Aṅgirasa and Gaya. Aṅga, through Sunīthā got Vena. This Vena was a cruel monster and hence he was killed by the Munis, who churned his right hand and from it Pṛthu was born.[1] Pṛthu was the most important king in as much as he established peace and prosperity for the subjects, who were quite happy under him and the earth also came to be known as Pṛthvī[2]. Dakṣa[3] created from his mind *Acara* (non-moving objects), *Cara* (moving objects), *Dvipāda* (bipeds), *Catuṣpāda* (quadrupeds) and then he created women. Of these, ten women were married to Dharma, thirteen to Kāśyapa, twenty-seven to Soma, four to Ariṣṭanemi, two to Bāhuputra and two to Aṅgirasa. Several other daughters of Dakṣa were married to various sages and they got children who attained eminence.

27. From Kāśyapa's[4] two wives Aditi and Diti, were born Ādityas and Daityas. The Ādityas were twelve *viz.* Viṣṇu, Śakra, Tvaṣṭā, Dhātā, Aryamā, Pūṣā, Vivasvat, Savitā, Mitra, Varuṇa, Bhaga and Aṁśu. The Daityas were two Hiraṇyakaśipu and Hiraṇyākṣa. Diti had also a daughter named Siṁhikā, whose sons were Rāhu etc. Hiraṇyakaśipu had four sons–Anuhrāda, Hrāda, Prahrāda and Saṁhrāda. Prahrāda was a great devotee of the god Viṣṇu. Prahrāda's son was Virocana, whose son was Bali. Bali had a hundred sons of whom Bāṇa was the eldest. Bāṇa had performed severe penance and propitiated the god Śiva, who granted him a boon. Hiraṇyākṣa had five sons Śambara, Śakuni, Dvimūrdhā, Śaṅku and Ārya. All these had several children, from whom were also born serpents, birds. etc.,

28. *Over-lordship over various regions assigned to different gods by Hari :*—When all the creative processes had proceeded

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[1] *Ibid.* 18/6–12;
[2] *Ibid.* 18/13–18;
[3] *Ibid.* 18/28–44;
[4] *Ibid.* 19/1–21;

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apace, overlordship was established by Hari over the various regions. The *Agni-purāṇa* gives a list of various regions with their lords.[1]

29. *Dissolution* :—The cosmogonical account of the *Agni-purāṇa* may not be complete without reference to the account of the dissolution of the universe.[2] The *Purāṇa* describes four kinds of dissolution *viz. Nitya, Naimittika, Prākṛta* and *Ātyantika*[3]. Details about the *Naimittika* and *Prākṛta* dissolution are given. The *Naimittika*[4] dissolution, which takes place after the close of a Kalpa, signifies complete destruction of the earth, when any vestige of life hardly remains. No rain falls for a hundred years, and the seven rays of the sun evaporate all the water that is available and not a drop of water remains. All the animals perish for want of food and drink. Then Viṣṇu takes his abode in the seven rays of the sun and drinks up the contents of the earthly oceans, as well as all water contained in the bowels of the earth and the nether region. Ultimately the seven rays grow in intensity and are transformed into seven suns, and the three worlds together with the nether regions are reduced to ashes. The surface of the earth is also changed and assumes the appearance of the back of a tortoise. When the first dissolution completely burns down the universe, the clouds are created from the breath of Viṣṇu, and they start pouring down perpetual showers of rains and put down the burning fire that had raged for a hundred years. When the water rises to the level of *Saptarṣi-maṇḍala* (constellation of seven sages), the breath of the god Hari gives rise to final storm, which disperses the clouds. Then, the god Hari in the form of Brahmā lies down on the surface of the universal water, and the Siddhas and the holy sages residing in the waters, at the time, praise him with hymns.

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[1] *Ibid.* 22–28.

[2] *Ibid.* Chap. 368–369;

[3] *Ibid.* 368/1–2;

[4] *Ibid.* 368/3–15;

30. *Prākṛta dissolution* :—The *Prākṛta*[1] dissolution takes place, when the whole universe is set on fire as a result of total absence of rain. Various modifications of the principle of Mahat get dissolved one after the other. On account of the working of Kṛṣṇa's will, the earth together with its attribute *Gandha* first gets dissolved into water, water with *Rasa* into *Rūpa* (light) and after that fire reigns supreme in the universe. The wind destroys the suns with their attributes of colour and light. The *Ākāśa* (ether) destroys air with its attribute touch. The *Ākāśa* gets merged into *Kham* (the universal space) itself together with the material principles. *Mahat* swallows up the material principles as well as the universal space with its attribute of *Abhimāna* (egoism). To put this process of dissolution in nutshell, it may be stated that the earth is reduced to water, which is dried up by heat, and the heat in its turn is destroyed by the wind. The wind enters space. Puruṣa, which is pure consciousness and is a part of the absolute self, and Prakṛti get finally merged into the Supreme Soul, which is unconditioned by name, species etc.

31. *Ātyantika dissolution* ;—The *Ātyantika*[2] or spiritual dissolution signifies the final merging of the individual soul in the absolute Brahman. This stage is attained by a man, when through a knowledge of ths spritual agonies, which fall to the lot of every one in life, he renounces the world and its concerns. The spiritual agonies are two-fold, (i) pertaining to body and (ii) pertaining to mind. The agonies pertaining to body are many-old. The individual soul after the death of his physical body leaves it and assumes the *Ātivāhika* body. The orderlies of Yama take the soul to his region, where he has to suffer for his deeds. The god of death datermines the nature of punishment or rebirth for the soul. Then follows an account of various funeral ceremonies[3] and how the soul in the *Ātivāhika* body receives the offerings made. Then follows the account of heaven and hell[4], where the soul

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[1] *Ibid.* 368/16-27.
[2] *Ibid* 369/1-3, ff
[3] 369/9-13,
[4] 369/14-18.

enjoys or suffers before he takes rebirth. The account of spiritual dissolution does not properly deal with the subject in hand. But after a reference to what spiritual dissolution is, an account is given of the fate of the soul after he leaves his physical body, his journey to the domain of Yama, his suffering or enjoying in hell or heaven, and ultimately his rebirth on the earth. All this account can hardly be brought under the topic of spiritual dissolution.

32. *Manvantaras* :—The *Agni-purāṇa* gives a detailed account of the various Manvantaras when different Manus appeared with all their paraphernalia of the gods, sons, Ṛṣis and Indras. The scheme of the fourteen Manus indicating different cosmic epochs has been adopted in general by the Purāṇas and elaborate treatment of the same may be found in the earlier Purāṇas like the *Vāyu*. Svāyambhuva Manu is the first of the Manus, who codified law for human society. He was followed by Svārociṣa, Uttama, Tāmasa, Raivata, Cākṣuṣa, Vaivasvata (i. e. the present Manu), Sāvarṇi, Dākṣa Sāvarṇi, Brāhma Sāvarṇi, Dharma Sāvarṇi. Rudra Sāvarṇi, Raucya and Bhautya.[1]

33. *Conclusion* :—Thus, the foregoing survey of the philosophical matter and cosmogonical account occurring in the *Agni-purāṇa* clearly shows that the *Purāṇa* makes an effort to give in nutshell the important popular philosophical doctrines and also presents in nutshell the cosmogonical scheme with its mythological and theological aspects as adopted in general by the Purāṇas.

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[1] *Ibid*. chap. 150.

CHAPTER VII

MATTER FROM SMṚTI LITERATURE

(1)

1. *Introductory* :—The *Agni-purāṇa*, the representative of the later Purāṇas, has embodied matter from the Smṛti literature dealing mostly with the details about the daily ritualistic and funeral rites. Legal topics *viz.* code of criminal law, institution of law-suits, inheritance, debts, witnesses etc. are also inserted. The *Purāṇa*[1] mentions twenty writers of Dharmaśāstra *viz.* Manu, Viṣṇu, Yājñavalkya, Hārīta, Atri, Yama, Aṅgiras, Vasiṣṣha, Dakṣa, Saṁvartta, Śātātapa, Parāśara, Āpastamba Uśanas, Vyāsa, Kātyāyana, Bṛhaspati, Gotama, Śaṅkha, Likhita and claims to embody *Dharma* as described by them. But the subject is not pursued any further. After the mention of the twenty writers, an account of two-fold Vaidika Karmas occurs. The first set of acts has for its objective the attainment of some desired end and it is known as *Pravṛtta*, the other set has for its aim mere attainment of knowledge and as such is known as *Nivṛtta*[2]. Then follows the account of Śrāvaṇī or Upākarma, when ritualastic ceremonies connected with the commencement of Vedic study were performed.

2. *Dharmaśāstra topics* :—In general, the following are the main topies bearing on the Dharmaśāstra matter, that are described in the *Agni-purāṇa*, the duties of the Varṇas and the Āśramas[3], various Saṁsakāras[4], various forms of marriage,[5] sacrifices in honour of the guardian[6] deities, Grahayajña[7],

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[1] Chap. 162/1-2.

[2] *Agn.* 162/3-7.

[3] chap. 151-153, 160-161.

[4] chap. 32, 152, 166.

[5] chap. 153.

[6] chap. 164-165.

[7] chap. 167.

Vedic rituals[1], funeral[2] rites, Śrāddha etc. atonment for various[3] sins, general comduct[4], impurity[5], Vyavahrāra[6] etc.

(2)

3. *Duties of the Varṇas, Sādhāraṇa Dharma* :—Before actually describing the duties of the different Varṇas, the *Agni-purāṇa* gives an account of certain common duties for all the Varṇas *viz.* non-inujry, truthfulness, mercifulness, kindness to all living creatures, going on pilgrimage, gift, sense-control, absence of jealousy, service of the gods, Dvijas and preceptors, listening to the recital of Dharma, the worship of the manes, loyalty to the king and pursuit of the right Śāstras, compassion, forbearance and godliness[7]. These duties constituted the ethical aspect of *Dharma* enjoined for various Varṇas. They remind us of Yama and Niyama frequently mentioned in the earlier Purāṇas, Smṛtis[8] and even Buddhist and Jain literature. These ethical principles may easily be traced even to the Upniṣadic period. It seems, these ethical principles were a common property of ancient Indians and their culture, and the writers on Dharma-śāstra and philosophy fully utilised them. But the *Agni-purāṇa* does not adopt all the Yamas and Niyamas; out of ten Yamas only five[9], out of ten Niyamas only three[10] are adopted. Besides purely ethical principles, the list of Sāmānya-dharmas embodies certain other elements[11] as well, which throw a flood of light on the particular period of cultural evolution in the history of ancient India, when the *Agni-*

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[1] ckap. 259–263, 271.

[2] chap. 163, 117,

[3] chap. 168, 174–175,

[4] chap. 155.

[5] chap. 156–159.

[6] chap. 227, 257–258.

[7] *Agn.* 151/3–5.

[8] *MS* IV, 204.

[9] *Ahimisā, Salya, Dayā, Bhuteṣvanugrahaḥ* or *Kṣamā* and *Brahmacarya*

[10] *Sacchāstranetratā* (*Svādhyāya*), *Anṛśamsyam* (*Akrodha*) and *Guruṇām śuśrūṣā* (*Gurusevā*).

[11] *Tīrthānuśaraṇa, Devadvijādisuśrūṣā, Śravaṇam sarva dhamānām, Pitṛṇāṁ pūjonaṁ, Bhaktiśca nṛpatau nitym, Āetikyam.*

purāṇa evolved an all embracing list of common duties for all the members of the four Vārṇas. Pilgrimage to the sacred places, worship of the gods and the Brāhmaṇas, attending sacred recitals of the various religious books, adoration of the manes, loyalty to the kings, belief in god, Vratas etc., clearly indicate the full-fledged development of the popular form of Hinduism, which was firmly established in India even during the days of Harṣavardhana. From this. it may be inferred that tho Dharmsśāstra matter came to be included in the *Agni-purāṇa* in or after the seventh century A. D., when religion had become, more or less, a mechanical affair.

4. *Viśeṣa Dharmas* :—The duties of the Brāhmaṇas are the performance of sacrifices, officiating as priests at the sacrifices performed for others, giving gifts to others, teaching Vedic lore, acceptance of gifts and study of the Vedas. The duties of the Kṣtriyas are giving gifts to others, study of the Vedas, performing sacrifices, giving protection to others and punishing the evil-doers. The duties of the Vaiśyas are giving gifts to others, study of the Vedas, performing sacrifices, agriculture, protection of cow, and trade and commerce. The duties of the Śūdras are service of the mombers of the first three classes, or following various crafts.[1]

5. *Varṇa Saṅkara* :—After a brief survey of the duties of the various Varṇas, a reference is made to various mixed-castes (*Varṇa-saṅkara*), and different duties are allotted to them. The mixed castes are described as due to Pratiloma marriage. The issues of the Anuloma marriage get the caste of their father. But this is not so in the case of the Pratiloma marriage. A child born of a Brāhmaṇa mother through a Śūdra father becomes a Cāṇḍāla, through Kṣtriya father a Sūta, and through a Vaiśya father Devala. A child born of a Kṣatriya mother through a Śūdra father is called Pukkasa and through a Vaiśya father Māgadha. A child born of a Vaiśya mother through a Śūdra father is called Āyogava.[2] The duty of a

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[1] *Agn.* 151/6–9;

[2] *Ibid.* 151/11–12;

Cāṇḍāla was to behead those upon whom capital punishment was inflicted. A Sūta had to work as a charioteer and Pukkasa as a hunter. An Āyogava had to live by working on the stage (as an actor) and by following various crafts. A Cāṇḍāla had to live outside the inhabited area and wear the raiments of the dead brought to the crematorium, and he was not expected to pollute other members of the society by his touch[1]. Here, a clear reference to untouchability in its ugly form of the present day is found. Besides, Vaidehika and Māgadha are also mentioned, the former kept and lived by women and the latter by singing the royal panegyrics.

6. The duties of the four Varṇas and the various mixed castes resulting from the Pratiloma marriage are given in nutshell. The *Purāṇa* merely tries to sum up the various notions current about the Varṇas and the mixed castes from earliest times and found in the works on Dharmaśāstra. It also reflects the popular apathy towards inter-marriages between the members of the different Varṇas by clearly laying down that the inter-marriage between higher and lower Varṇas was undesirable, it should take place only between equals.[2] Thus, it may be inferred that by the time the Dharmaśāstra matter was incorporated in the *Agni-purāṇa*, the intermarriages had gone out of vogue and the society abhorred them.

7. *Social evolution* :—For a thorough grasp of the topic of the Varṇas and mixed castes in the *Agni-purāṇa* in its cultural and historical setting, it is essential to bear in mind the development of the Varṇas and the mixed castes. The topic in question, though mentioned only very briefly still presents three important aspects of social evolution, *viz.* four Varṇas, Varṇa-saṅkara or mixed castes and untouchability. These three phases represent important epochs in the social evolution of ancient India.

8. *Untouchability* :—While giving an account of a Cāṇḍāla described as an issue of the Pratiloma marriage, the *Agni-*

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[1] *Ibid.* 151/14-17. [2] 151/13;

purāṇa makes a reference to untouchability. The Cāṇḍāla was expected to live on the out-skirt of a town or a village, and wear garments of the dead left off at the crematorium[1]. This reference clearly shows that by the time of the *Agni-purāṇa*, the principle of untouchability, especially with regard to Cāṇḍāla, was firmly established. The facts stated above clearly show that the *Agni-purāṇa* tries to make a reference to a tendency twowards the later idea of untouchability by regarding a Cāṇḍāla as an untouchable, and thus explains the growth and development of the institution of castes through three phases.

(3)

9. Institution of Āśrama :—The *Agni-purāṇa* describes in brief the duties of the four stages in life but in a very unsystematic manner. After investing the student with the sacred thread, the preceptor should teach him self-purification, self-conduct, the process of performing sacrifices and *Sandhyā* (Prayer) in the morning and evening. He should avoid wine, flesh, music and dance in the company of others. He should not indulge in causing injuries to and talking ill of others. He should bear a staff. Having completed the study of the Vedas, he should take the last final bath before leaving the preceptor's house. He should also pay adequate fee to the preceptor before finally leaving. If he chooses, he should be a life-long student and should remain with the preceptor till his death.[2]

10. *Gṛhasthāśrama* :—After marriage, a Snātaka becomes a householder. He should rise early in the morning at *Brāhmamuhūrta* and remember the gods Viṣṇu etc. After performing his morning duties and having taken his bath, he should perform *Sandhyā* when he has to repeat certain hymns. Then, he sould perform *Tarpaṇa* and offer handfuls of water to the gods and the manes. This should be followed by *Havana*, when oblations should be made into the fire. He should rely

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[1] *Ibid*. 151/16-17.

[2] *Ibid*. 153/12-16;

on God for his material well-being and prosperity. He should never talk ill of the Vedas, Śāstras, the king, the Ṛṣis and the gods[1]. A comparative study of the duties of a Gṛhstha as given in the *Purāṇa* and those occurring in the *Manusmṛti* clearly indicates how the former has drawn entirely on the latter, even with regard to the minutest details.

11. *Vānaprasthāśrama :*—After completing the period of the household life, a person was expected to enter the Vānaprastha Āśrama in the third stage of the span of his life. A householder after the birth of a grandson should resort to the forest. He should live in the forest and subsist on wild fruits and roots, and should not go a begging. He should curb all the passions and attachment to the worldly life. He should practise hard austerities. He should undertake a journey to different quarters of the world with no idea of returning to the starting point[2].

12. *Sanyāsāśrama :*—The *Agni-purāṇa* gives an account of *Yatidharma*[3] and mentions the duties of a Sanyāsī. Having attained the fourth stage of life-span, he should renounce all wordly attachment and ties. He should roam alone and should resort to a village only for obtaining food. He should maintain a spirit of indifference and should not hoard anything. He should acquire the correct knowledge so necessary for an ascetic (Muni). He should be perfectly detached to wordly-affairs. He should observe perfect purity with regard to sight, speech, mind etc. He should observe the ten-fold *Dharma* embodying courage, forbearance, self-control, non-stealing, purity, control over the senses, intelligence, knowledge, truthfulness and absence of anger.[4] He should observe five Yamas,[5] should perform breath-control and contemplate on the ultimate reality. He should try to acquire correct knowledge about it. Thus, he obtains final emancipation.

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[1] *Ibid*. 155/1–12;

[2] I*bid*. Chap. 160.

[3] I*bid*. Chap. 161;

[4] I*bid*. 16/17;

[5] I*bid*. 16/18–19;

13. *Manusmṛti, the basis of Agni-purāṇa account :*—The *Agni-purāṇa* has based the account of the four Āśramas entirely on the *Manusmṛti* as may clearly be noticed by a comparative study of the two.[1] At times even verses have been borrowed *verbatim.*[2] The *Manusmṛti* itself bases its account on the earlier Sūtra literature. Thus, the *Agni-purāṇa* account is indirectly based on the earlier literature.

(4)

14. *Ritualistic rites, Saṁskāras :*—The Saṁskāras occupy an important place in the ritualistic rites described in the *Agni-purāṇa*, which mentions nearly forty-eight Saṁsakāras *viz.* Garbhādhāna (foetus-laying ceremony), Puṁsavana (male making ceremony), Sīmantonnayana (ceremony for parting of the hair), Jātakarma (birth rites), Annaprāśana (ceremony of giving a little of food to the child), Nāmakarma (ceremony of naming the child), Chūḍākarma (tonsure-ceremony), Brahmacarya (ceremony for being initiated into student-life), Vratas (Vaiṣṇavī, Pārthī, Bhautikī, and Śrautikī), Godāna (ceremony of giving kine in gift), Snātakatva (ceremony at the time of leaving the house of the preceptor), seven Pākayajñas (offerings with cooked food, Aṣṭakā, Pārvaṇa, Śrāddha, Śrāvaṇī Āgrāyaṇī, Caitrī, and Āśvāyujī), seven Haviryajñas (offerings with clarified butter etc., Ādhāna, Agnihotra, Dārśa, Paurṇamāsaka, Cāturmāsya. Paśorbandha and Sautrāmaṇi), seven Soma-Saṁsthās (Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Uktha, Ṣoḍaṣī, Vājapeyaka, Atirātra and Āptiryāma) and other rituals (Hiraṇyāṅghri, Hiraṇyākṣa, Hiraṇyamitra, Hiraṇyapāṇi, Hemākṣa, Hemāṅga, Hemasūtraka, Hiraṇyāsya, Hiraṇyāṅga, Hemajihva, Hiraṇyavāk. Aśvamedha and Sarveśa[3].

15. The above list of forty-eight Saṁskāras includes nearly all the Śrauta and Gṛhya rituals that may be traced to the

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[1] See Appendix (iii) A;

[2] *Ibid.* 161/7, 17; c. f. *MS* VI, 116, 92.

[3] *Agni.* 32/1-12; The same list with slight variations occurs in the chap. 16, 166/10-18.

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Brāhmaṇic literature (B. C. 1000 to B. C. 800) and the *Śrauta* and *Gṛhya Sūtras* (about 200 B. C.). The Śrauta rituals are fourteen in number classified under two groups of seven Haviṣ sacrifices and seven Soma sacrifices. Milk, ghee, grain, cakes etc. are offered in Haviṣ sacrifices. Daily Agnihotra, new and full moon sacrifices and those offered at the beginning of three seasons are important ones. Soma sacrifices were much complicated. Some of them lasted for several days and even a year.[1] Thus, the *Agni-purāṇa* has included all the imoprtant ritualistic rites that were known or were in vogue and were already established in the religious life of the people in the eighth century before Christ. That all these rites were actually practised at the time the *Agni-purāṇa* was compiled is far from possible. Perhaps, most of the rites had become obsolete, because at the time devotion to and worship of a particular deity giving rise to the devotional and sectarian form of worship was predominant rather than the rituslistic. Thus, for the *Agni-purāṇa* most of the ritualistic rites were, perhaps, merely of academic interest. In the above list, certain important Saṁskāras *viz.* Vedārambha (commencement of Vedic stndies), Vivāha (marriage), Vānaprastha, Sanyāsa and Āntyeṣṭi (funeral rites) are not included. They are mentioned subsequently in some other context[2]. Under the wrong title *Brahmacatyāśrama-dharmāḥ*[3] five Saṁskāras *viz.* Sīmanta, Jātakarma, Nāmakaraṇa, Cūḍākṛta and Upanayana are again described.[4]

16. *Marriage* :—As for marriage, the *Agni-purāṇa* sanctions the Anuloma marriage, though marriage in the same caste is generally approved of. A Brāhmaṇa may take four wives, one from each caste, a Kṣatriya may take three wives as he was not permitted to marry in the higher caste, in the same way a Vaiśya could take two wives, and a Śūdra merely one.

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[1] *HSL* pp. 247–48;

[2] Vivāha–*Agn.* chap. 155, Śrāvaṇī or Upākarma–chap. 162/8–18, Vānaprastha–chap 160, Sanyāsa–Chap 161.

[3] *Agni.* chap, 153.

[4] *Ibid.* chap. 154.

Though Anuloma marriages are sanctioned, still disspprobation of them is shown in as much as it is clearly laid down that no religious duty could be performed by a person in association with his wife belonging to the lower caste.[1] That privilege was reserved for the wife belonging to his own caste. This clearly shows the great antipathy, which the society felt for Anuloma marriages during the period the *Agni-purāṇa* was compiled. A woman was permitted to marry again under five adverse circumstances *viz.* absence of any trace of the husband, his death, his renunciation of the world, his impotence and his moral degeneration[2]. Even the *Manu-smṛti* gives recognition to Paunarbhava[3], the son of a remarried widow, and thus indirectly sanctions widow-remarriage. But there are verses that do not approve of such marriages. Perhaps, the epic literature and other religious treatises were more emphatic on levirate[4] (Niyoga) to which recourse was taken whenever the urgency of having a male issue was felt.

17. *Traditional forms of marriage :*—The traditional forms of marriage are also given in the *Purāṇa.*[5] Out of the eight forms only seven are noted, Daiva being left out. *Brāhma*—In this marriage, the bride is givan away to a person of good and noble parentage and possessed of excellent virtues. It should be regarded as the best form of uniting a man and a woman in holy wedlock. *Ārṣa* is that in which a pair of cows is given to the bridegroom. *Prājāpatya* is that in which the hand of the bride is saught by the bride-groom. *Āsura* is that in which the bride is given in marriage in lieu of some monetary payment. *Gāndharva* is a love-marriage between the bride and the bridegroom of their own free will. *Rākṣasa* is that

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[1] *I*bid 154/1–2.

[2] *Ibid,* 154/5–6.

[3] *MS*. IX, 175.

[4] Ṛg. X. 40, 2; Gau. *Dh.* 18/4–8; 28/12, 4/3; *Vaś. Dh.* 17/64. *Āp.* Dh. II, 6, 13, 6; *Artha.* 1, 17, MS, IX, 32, 33, 53. *MBh. Ādi;* 95/103. 120, 64/100,

[5] 154/8–11.

in which the bride is forcibly carried away in battle, and married. *Paiśāca* is that in which the bride is married by deceitful means. These seven forms of marriage together with the *Daiva*[1] are the eight traditional forms described in the *Manusmṛti*[2]. It is evident that the list of the various forms of marriage in the *Agni-purāṇa* is borrowed from Manu and other writers on Dharmaśāstra.

18. *Minor ritualism* —Besides the sacraments discussed above, other minor ritualism has found place in the *Agni-purāṇa*, which is not stressed in the earlier Smṛtis.. A sacrifice known as Grahayajña in honour of the guardiana-deities of the various planets is to be performed for the acquirement of peace and longevity, or to bring down good showers in one's country. The planets to be adored are the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn[3]. Certain Vedic ritualism, wherein the recital and meditation of important Vedic hymns plays an important role, is also included in the *Agni-purāṇa*. With the accompaniment of the Vedic hymns offerings are to be made to fire[4]. Muttering of the Vedic hymns like *Gāyatrī*, *Agni-mīle purohitam*, *Hiraṇya stūpam*, *Udītyodyantamāditya* etc., is regarded as highly efficacious. These hymns have been selected from all the four Vedas. The account of Śrāddha and other rites connected with the dead is also embodied in the *Agni-purāṇa*, though not in details as in the *Vāyu*[5] and other *Purāṇas*[6]. The *Manu*[7], *Yājñavalkya*[8] etc. have also dealt with this topic of Śrāddha, and they have given its minute details. The *Purāṇa*[9] gives an account of the procedure to be adopted for the performance of the rites. For the Śrāddha ceremony, the learned Brāhma-

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[1] MS, III, 29,

[2] *Ibid.* III, 21, 27-34;

[3] 164/1-3.

[4] *Agn.* 259/3.

[5] chap. 71-84.

[6] *Bu.* (*Madhya Bhāga*), chap. 9-20, *Mats.* chap. 16-22;

[7] III, 122-283;

[8] *Ācārādhyāya*, 217-270;

[9] chap. 71-84.

ṇas are to be invited for dining and offerings are to be made to the departed souls[1]. As in the *Manusmṛti*[2], non-vegetarian offerings have also been commended[3]. A reference to Gayā Śrṇddha is also made. Śrāddha is to be performed at Gayā on the occasion of Saṅkrānti, and the pious Brāhmaṇas free from diseases should be invited. Viśvedevāḥ should be invited on the occasion, and barley and sesamum grains are to be scattered to the aocompaniment of the Vedic hymn *Śannodevī* etc. Besides Gayā, there are other sacred places fit for the performance of Śraddha ceremony *viz.*, Prayāga, Gaṅgā, Kurukṣetra, Narmadā, Śrīparavata, Prabhāsa, Śābagrāma, Vārāṇasī, Godāvarī etc. An account of atonement for various sins (*Prāyaścittā*) is given at great length[4]. This topic is discussed, at same length, in the Smṛtis and other Dharma-śāstra literature.[5] And the account of the *Agni-purāṇa* may have been possibly borrowed from the *Manu* and other Smṛtis. The sins for which atonement is to be done are generally connected with cooked food prepared by certain degenerate or low persons or those belonging to a lower caste. Similarly several sins and crimes against morality, social customs and usages etc. are described. A king should punish those who would fail to do proper atonement for their own misdeeds. A man should atone for the evils he does whether wilfully or not. A man should not eat the boiled rice prepared by a mad, angry or a diseaaed pesson, nor should he partake of the food polluted by the touch of the Mahāpātakīs or by women in their menses[6]. Various forms of atonement are prescribed for the various sins[7]. The Mahāpātakas (the great sins) that are generally abhorred and for which severe atonement is prescribed are killing a Brāhmaṇa, drinking of wine, stealing of gold weighing more than eighty Rattis, cohabiting with the wife of an elder or a

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[1] Ibid. 163/2-5;
[2] III, 266-272;
[3] Ibid., 163/28-30;
[4] Ibid. chap. 168-174;
[5] see Appendix (V)
[6] Agn. 168/2-3;
[7] Ibid. 168/13-15;

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superior person, and the company of a person who commits one of these deadly sins[1]. Untouchability, more or less, in its modern form also finds a reference in this connection[2].

19. *Vyavahāra*--Legal injunctions based on customs and usages embodied in the Dharmaśāstra literature from the time of its earliest phase are also described in details in the *Agni-purāṇa*. The code of the criminal law[3], the institution of law-suits[4], debts, property, inheritance[5] etc. form important items under this topic. It needs no saying that the matter concerning the customary law as embodied in the *Agni-purāṇa* is entirely based on the Smṛti literature, mostly the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*.[6] The *Agni-purāṇa* gives an account of the institution of a law-suit and the procedure to be adopted by the tribunals in deciding the points of dispute. A suit is determined by a reference to four things (*Catuṣpāda*), it is adjudicated with the help of four factors (*Catuḥsāddhana*), it has its root in four places (*Catuḥ-sthāna*), it benefits four classes of men (*Caturhita*), it is connected with the four different parties (*Caturvyāpin*), and benefits the society in a four-fold way (*Catuṣkarī*)[7]. Similarly, a law-suit involves the cooperation of eight persons (*Aṣṭāṅga*) at the time of the trial, proceeds out of eighteen causes of action (*Aṣṭādaśapāda*), is divided into hundred sub-divisions (*Śataśākhā*), owes its origin to three different sources (*Triyoni*), admits of two sorts of statements (*Dvayi-yoga*), is contested by two parties (*Dvidvāra*) and is decided by the determination of two sorts of isues (*Dvigati*)[8]. Then follows an account of various technical terms employed in law *viz.* debt (*Ṛṇa*), trust (*Nikṣepa*), act of the corporations of trade and merchants (*Sambhūyasamutthāna*), withdrawal of a gift (*Dattāpradānika*), refusal to perform his part of the contract on the part of the servant (*Aśuśruṣā*), non-payment of wages to the servant (*Vetanasya anapākarma*),

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[1] *Ibid.* 168/24;

[2] *Ibid.* 170/22-23.

[3] *Ibid.* chap. 277;

[4] *Ibid.* chap. 253;

[5] *Ibid.* chap. 254-258;

[6] See Appendix (iii) b

[7] *Agn.* 253/1;

[8] *Ibid.* 253/2;

disposal of the goods belonging to some other owner (*Asvāmivikraya*), non-delivery of articles sold (*Vikrītāsampradānam*), dispute arising out of the dissatisfaction of the purchaser as to the quality of the goods purchased and of the seller as to the proceeds of the goods sold[1] (*Krītvāmūlyenayatpaṇyaṁ duṣkrītam manyate krayī*), violation of an agreement or a bargain[2] (*Samayasyāpākarma*), dispute about a field (*kṣetragatavivādaḥ*), marriage-suit[3] (*Vaivāhiko vidhiḥ*), and inheritance and partition of property among heirs[4] (*Dāyabhāga*). These are some of the important topics under civil law as envisaged by the Smṛti writers, which are summed up in the *Agni-purāṇa*.

20. A list of criminal acts punishable in various ways under criminal law is also given in the *Purāṇa*. Some important offences of this category are as follows :- *Sāhasa*[5]– violence, *Vākpāruṣya*[6]–abusive language amounting to offence, *Daṇḍapāruṣya*[7]– criminal assault, *Dyūta*[8]– gambling, and disobedience of king's[9] law. Thus, there are eighteen points of dispute leading to litigation, which itself is of hundred different kinds owing to different acts of human beings.

21. The *Purāṇa* gives details about the procedure to be adopted by the court of law in deciding a point of dispute. A king in the company of the wise and erudite Brāhmaṇas shall preside over a tribunal and he shall never allow the consideration of any personal gain or greed to interfere with the administration of even-handed justice. The jurors, who shall be elected to help the king with their opinion on legal matter, should be selected from among men, who would make no difference between a friend and a foe, are well-versed in the scriptural lore, are above all curruption and

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[1] *Ibid.* 253/21.
[2] *Ibid.* 253/22;
[3] *Ibid.* 253/24;
[4] *Ibid.* 253/25;
[5] *Ibid.* 253/26;
[6] *Ibid.* 253/27;
[7] *Ibid.* 253/28;
[8] *Ihid.* 253/29;
[9] *Ibid.* 253/10;

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are void of all greed. The Brāhmaṇas should be engaged to fill such posts where able men would not be forthcoming[1]. For dispensation of justice, certain tests known as *Divyāni* (divine tests) smacking of primitive times were used, e. g. ordeals of scales, fire, water, poison[2] etc.

22. With regard to inheritance and partition of ancestral property, the *Agni-purāṇa* generally depends upon the *Dāya-bhāga* chapter of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, which itself draws from the earlier sources. If a father wishes to partition off his property among his sons, the eldest may be given major share or all should get equal shares. In case, equal shares are given to the sons, the mothers (father's wives) not having received anything from their husband or father-in-law by way of *Strīdhana*, should have a share in the property. The liabilities of the father are to be shouldered by the sons and those of the mother by the daughters[3]. The sons of the Brāhmaṇa father through Brāhamaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra mother should have shares respectively as four, three, two and one; the sons of the Kṣatriya father through Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra mother, three, two and one; and the sons of the Vaiśya father through Vaiśya and Śūdra mother two and one[4]. In connection with inheritance, twelve kinds of sons[5] are mentioned *viz.* Aurasa, Putrikāsuta, Kṣetraja, Gūḍhaja, Kānīna, Paunarbhava, Dattaka, Krīta, Kṛtrima, Datiātma, Sahoḍhaja and Apaviddha. These twelve kinds of sons have got legal and social status, they could offer funeral cakes and libations of water to their departed fathers, and could inherit their property, those of the inferior kinds in the absence of superior ones[6].

23. Boundary disputes regarding agricultural land are also described in the *Purāṇa*[7]. Several offences of the minor

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[1] *Ibid.* 253/32–33;
[2] *Ibid.* 253/28–31.
[3] *Ibib.* 256/1–4
[4] *Ibid.* 256/12; c. f. *YS. Vyavahāra*, 125;
[5] *Agn.* 256/14–18;
[6] *Ibid.* 256/19;
[7] *Ibid.* 257/1–3.

nature have been noted e. g. tress-passing or grazing of an animal in another's field etc. The disputes arising out of the dealings of the mercantile guilds and associations known as Śreṇi, Pūga, Saṅgha, Nigama etc., are also described. Legal sanction was also accorded to their decisions, which were binding on the members, who were penalized for violating them[1].

24. *A critical estimate* —A critical study of the Dharmaśāstra topics as occurring in the *Agni-purāṇa* clearly shows that the *Purāṇa* has borrowed its Dharmaśāstra matter from the Smṛti literature; for the account of Varṇāśrama-dharma, the *Manusmṛti* is mainly drawn upon, sometimes even verses are reproduced *vevbatim.* As for the legal topics (*Vyavahāra*), the *Purāṇa* has based its account mainly on the *Yājña-valkya-smṛti*, (especially Vyavahāra section). The author of the *Purāṇa* has adopted three-fold method in barrowing material from the Smṛti literature. He has adopted the Smṛti verses either *verbatim* or after a slight modification. Sometimes the main ideas in the Smṛti verses are summed up in the author's own verses. Sometimes the Purāṇic author borrows last line of a verse from the *Yajñavalkya-smṛti* and adds to it the first line of the next verse and thus tries to give the colour of originality to his verse. Sometimes half the line of a verse is borrowed and the remaining half is paraphrased[2].

25. *Conclusion*—In the light of the facts stated above, it may be remarked that the *Agni-purāṇa*, encyclopædic as it is, sums up Dharmaśāstra matter as available during the period of its compilation. The topics dealing with social and religious life, as adopted in the *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya* Smṛtis were regarded authoritative during the period and came to be embodied in the *Purāṇa*. Thus, the duties of the

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[1] *Ibid.* 257/38-47.

[2] See Appendix (iii) B.

four Varṇas, mixed castes and four Āśramas, as also the Vedic and Gṛhya rituals and the funeral rites find a prominent place in the *Purāṇa*. The practical side of social, religious and ritualistic aspects of the life during the period is also represented. Details about various sacraments, Śrāddha, atonement, purification, impurity, mixed castes with special reference to the untouchable Cāṇḍāla etc. clearly reflect actual state of affairs. Legal topics e. g. criminal law, law-suits, debts, property, inheritance etc. discussed in the Smṛtis are also embodied in the *Purāṇa*. Generally, the *Purāṇa* sums up the topics from the Smṛti literature but some-times actual verses are also borrowed from the *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya*, etc. Thus, the *Purāna* is an important source for the social and cultural history as well as the history of the Dharma-śāstra literature in the post-Gupta period.

CHAPTER VIII

RĀJADHARMA

1. *Introductory*—The *Agni-purāṇa* embodies two different versions of the science of government. The first is quite elaborate[1] called *Puṣkaranīti*, because Agnī repeats what Puṣkara stated to Rāma; the second is concise[2] and called *Rāmoktanīti*, because Agni is described as narrating what Rama described to Lakṣamaṇa. A close study of the two versions clearly reveals that the first, in all probablility, is a later addition. But it agrees in some cases *verbatim* with *Matsya–version.* It is titled *Puṣkarā–nīti* because Puṣkara narrated the Nīti to Rāma and is mentioned as a narrator throughout. This title was, perhaps, employed to give it an appearance of the original version. Because in the second, Rāma is the original narrator, who, according to the first version, got his knowledge from Puṣkara. This conscious effort at attaching greater historicity to the first version is in itself a proof of its posteriority. The second version seems to be the earlier, because it is in keeping with the general trend of the *Agni-purāṇa*, which tries to sum up and reproduce. It is based on the *Kāmandakīya Nītsāra*[3] and the matter from other sources. *Puṣkara Niti* is based on the *Matsya–*account[4] of the science of the Government.

2. *Two Versions*—The author of *Puṣkara-nīti* in the *Agni-purāṇa* has summarised the chapters from the *Matsya-purāṇa*, sometimes reproducing *verbatim* verses or lines from the verses, or even particular phraseology. The *Matsya* chapters 215, 216, 217, 220 and 227 are respectively summarised in the *Agni* chapters 220, 221, 222, 225 and 227. The *Matsya* chapters 221, 222, 223, 224, 225 and 226 are summarised in chapter 226 of the *Agni-purāṇa*. The second version *Rāmoktanīti* is adopted from the *Kāmandakītya Nitisāra.*

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[1] *Agn.* chap. 218–237;

[2] *Ibid.* chap. 238–242;

[3] *See* Appendix (i);

[4] *Mats.* chap. 215–226.

In this adoption, several verses from the various Sargas of the *Nītisāra* are reproduced *verbatim*. The first three Sargas are summarised in chapter 238 of the *Purāṇa*, several verses being reproduced *verbatim*. *Agni-purāṇa* chapter 239 summarises fourth and fifth Sargas of the *Nītisāra*. Again several verses from Sargas VIII to XVIII of the *Nītisāra* are reproduced in the *Agni-purāṇa* chapter 240 and 241. Similarly, the *Agni-purāṇa* chapter 242 has adopted several verses bodily from XVIII and XIX Sargas. This brief analytic study reveals that *Rāmokta-nīti* in the *Agni-purāṇa* is entirely based on the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra.*

3. *Topics described in the two versions*—The various topics of the science of government discussed in *Puṣkaranīti* and *Rāmoktanīti* may be snmmed up. *Puṣkara-nīti* describes coronation[1] ceremony, securing of assistance by the king[2], behaviour of the servants towards the king[3], king's residence[4], duties of the king[5], means and contrivances to be employed by the king[6], employment[7] of Daṇḍa, march against the enemies[8] Ṣāḍguṇya[9] and daily programme of the king[10]. *Rāmokta-nīti* embodies these topics–general qualifications of the king[11], Ṣāḍguṇya[12], four-fold means and contrivances to be employed by the king[13], and march against the enemy[14].

4. *Rāmokta-nīti*—Rāmoktanīti representing the earlier version may be considered first. Under this title in five chapters[15] the *Agni-purāṇa* sums up the important points of the science of government as discussed in details in the earlier works on the subject. The account begins with the

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[1] *Agn.* chap. 218–219;
[2] *Ibid.* chap. 220.
[3] *Ibid.* chap. 221;
[4] *Ibid.* chap. 222;
[5] *Ibid.* chap. 223–225;
[6] *Ibid.* chap. 226;
[7] *Ibid.* chap. 227;
[8] *Ibid.* chap. 228-233, 236-237;
[9] *Ibid.* chap. 234;
[10] *Ibid.* chap. 235;
[11] *Ibid.* chap. 238;
[12] *Ibid.* chap. 240;
[13] *Ibid.* 241/46 ff.;
[14] *Ibid.* chap. 242;
[15] chap. 238–242;

duties and qualifications of a king[1]. King's conduct is fourfold *viz.* acquisition of wealth by just means, its increase, protection and distribution among deserving persons. The root of *Naya* or the art of government is modesty (*Vinaya*), which is acquired by a perusal of the Śāstra and control over the senses. Thus equipped, a king should protect the earth. He should try to avoid *Kāma* (passionateness), *Krodha* (anger), *Lobha* (avariciousness), *Harṣa* (joyousness), *Māna* (respect) and *Mada* (pride). He should acquire the knowledge of philosophy, the three Vedas, economics and the science of government, and should cultivate the qualities of *Ahiṁsā*, *Sunṛtā Vāṇī*, *Satya*, *Dayā*, *Kṣamā*, etc. He should not oppress the poor and should try to acquire several other qualities. He should employ servants born of noble family.

5. *Saptāṅga Rājya*—An account of the seven limbs or essentials of the state is given in the *Purāṇa viz. Svāmī*, (ruler enjoying sovereignty), *Āmātya* (minister), *Rāṣṭra* (territory), *Durga* (fort or defence), *Koṣa* (exchequer), *Bala* (armed forces) and *Suhṛda*[2] (allies). An account of the inportant functionaries of the state and their qualifications also occurs in the *Purāṇa*[3]. The Netā or the leader of the army should be well-versed in the use of *Daṇḍa*, be capable of meeting the attack of the enemy and be strong enough to punish the evildoers. The ministers of the King should be nobly born, pure, brave, learned, amiable and well-versed in the application of *Daṇḍa-nīti*. The Saciva or the chief minister should be eloquent, wise, energetic, devoid of fickle-mindedness, truthful, spirited, steadfast and sincere. A *Mantrin* or foreign minister should have a good memory and should know the minds of others. He should possess steadiness of mind. The royal priest (*Purohita*) should be well-versed in the three Vedas and the science of government. All these state - functionaries before their appointment should be properly tested with regard to their merit and qualifications.

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[1] *Ibid.* chap. 238/2–25. [2] *Ibid.* 239/1; [3] *Ibid.* 239/6–25;

6. *Ṣāḍguṇya—Ṣāḍguṇya*, an important item in the *Daṇḍa-nīti*, comprises *Sandhi*, *Vigraha*, *Yāna*, *Āsana*, *Dvaidhībhāva*, and *Saṁśraya*. These six are the important elements with regard to the policy to be adopted against an enemy king and they are discussed in details[1]. An account of the circle of twelve kings with reference to the king, who is desirous of effecting conquest, is given[2]. The monarchs, whose domains are contiguous to each other in the front of an invading sovereign, should be treated as friends or foes in the following order. The prince, whose territories would lie bordering on the domain of an invading king, should be treated as an enemy, the prince of the country beyond that as a friend, the prince of the country beyond that as a friend to the first enemy, the prince of the country beyond that as friendly to the second friend, and the king of the country beyond that as friendly to the friend of the third enemy. These monarchs including the invading one constitute the first half of the *Maṇḍala*. Similarly, the invading monarch should bear relation to those whose dominions would form the other or the posterior half of the circle. A king remaining outside the circle of these twelve monarchs and capable of doing good to all of them combined or of chastising any one of them singly is called the *Udāsīna* or the neutral king.

7. *Foreign relations*—Then follows some-what unsystemetic account[3] of how a king should try to cope with his diplomatic relations with foreign countries, so that he may enjoy both external and internal security. It is suggested that war and open hostililities should be avoided as far as possible and diplomacy should be resorted to. The king should be very secretive and should closely guard his counsel so that they may not leak out. *Mantra* or counsel of the king is very important as far as the science of government is concerned. It may comprise five factors *viz.* the knowledge of things unknown, and ascertainment of the true nature of thing already known,

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[1] *Ibid.* 240/6–32; [2] *Ibid.* 240/1–5. [3] *Ibid.* chap. 241;

removal of doubt or ambiguity on matters of policies and the drawing of a conclusion beforehand, determination of the right time and place of action, deliberation on the means of supply and help, and the remedy of evils and dangers[1]. The *Dūta* or an ambassador plays a dominant role in the foreign and diplomatic relations of the king. Success or otherwise of the foreign policy and diplomatic relations of the king greatly depend on his (*Dūta's*) tact, intelligence and marshalling of events. Hence, the Dūta's position is of great importance[2].

8. *Seven Upāyas*—Seven Upāyas[3] or ways and means of defeating an enemy are also described, *viz. Sāma* or conciliation, *Dāna* or monetary payment, *Bheda* or dissensions, *Daṇḍa* or armed forces, *Upekṣā* or indifference, *Indrajāla* or magical visions, and *Māyā* or illusion. All these seven should be employed by the king for defeating his enemy. A description of the military compaign[4] to be undertaken by the king desirous of effecting conquest is given, and the details about the arrangement of various corps of the army as also military arrays to be resorted to for the defeat of the enemy are also given[5]. A king should offer worship to the gods and then in the company of his six-fold forces should start on his campaign[6]. Details of warfare and its mode to be adopted by the commander are also given[7].

9. *Puṣkara Nīti*—The description of *Puṣkara-Nīti* begins with the account of the coronation ceremony[8]. Before the account of the coronation ceremony, certain injunctions for the king are described[9]. He should take a vow to protect all the people, who abide by the religious injunctions. For one year, he should woo his Brāhmaṇa priest, all the wise

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[1] *Ibid.* 241/1–6.
[2] *Ibid.* 241/7–12;
[3] *Ibid.* 241/46–68 ff;
[4] *Ibid.* chap. 242/1–6 ff;
[5] *Ibid.* 242/7–18;
[6] *Ibid.* 242/1;
[7] *Ibid.* 242/19–31;
[8] *Ibid.* 218/7–34;
[9] *Ibid.* 218/1–6;

ministers, and the righteous *Mahiṣī* or queen. The coronation ceremony should be celebrated within one year of his accession, there being no fixed time for it. With a view to perform the ceremony, the royal priest should place sesamum on the head of the king and pour water over him, after which victory to him should be announced. Enthroned on the auspicious royal seat, he should declare all the forts open and give protection to all and grant general amnesty. After the coronation, the king should prepare for conquering the enemy. Before proceeding on conquest, he should make his position in the state secure by appointing capable persons to various positions of importance[1]. The commander of the armed forces should be either a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya. The chamberlain or *Pratihāra* should be of noble birth, well-versed in the science of government (*Nitiśāstra*) and conversant with the rules of conduct. The ambassador or *Dūta* should be sweet-tongued, capable and strong. The betel-bears (*Tāmbūladhārī*) should be either male or female, devoted to the king and be capable of undergoing sufferings. The defence minister should be well-versed in *Ṣāḍguṇya* (six expedients to be used by the king in his foreign policy). The guard (*Rakṣaka*) should bear a sword, and the charioteer (*Sārathi*) should know the strength of the armed forces. The head of the royal kitchen should be kind-hearted and skilled in his job. The members of the royal court (*Sabhāsada*) should be religious-minded. and the scribe should know the art of writing. The sentrles *(Dauvārika)* should be devoted to the king. The *Dhanādhyakṣa* (Head of the finance Departments) should be devoted to the king and should possess the knowledge of the jewels. The royal physician (*Vaidya*) should be conversant with the science of medicine. The officer in charge of the elephants should know all about them and should be able to ride the elephant without being fatigued. The officer in charge of the forts should be devoted to the king and be intelligent. The royal architect should know the art of architecture. The instructor for the art of using weapons should be conversant with the use of various weapons. The chamberlain in charge of the female apartment should be old. The religious-minded persons should be employed for religious purposes, the heroic and the brave for fighting purposes, the practical-minded persons in economic affairs and pure and honest men for every work. The eunuchs should be employed among women-folk. Persons possessing expert and skilled knowledge of a particular thing should be employed for that only. The king should employ spies everywhere, because they are his eyes[1]. They should guise themselves as merchants, physicians, astrologers, religious mendicants and watch the strength and arrangement of the foreign kings. Thus, the king should consolidate his position and should always endeavour to make his subjects happy and prosperous[2]. The servants were expected to adopt a particular course of conduct towards the king. They should carry out the orders of the king like a true disciple. They should never disobey him, but should talk in an agreeable manner. They should not imitate the king in his dress, talk, actions etc. The chamberlain, though being retired of his job, should not be insincere to the king. He should never disclose any of the royal secrets. He should never misbehave before the king. Other servants should also be quite sincere to the king[3].

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[1] *Ibid*. 220/1-16.

10. *King's residence*—The king should select a place of safety for his residence, where he should get a fort constructed. He should have about him members of the four castes, mostly Vaiśyas, Śūdras and several workmen. The fort should be nicely provisioned with grain, fruit, flower etc., and it should be inaccesible to the enemy. The forts are generally of six types, *viz.* Dhanu–durga, Mahī–durga, Naradurga, Vārkṣa, Ambu–durga and Giri–durga. Of

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[1] *Ibid.* 220/20.

[2] *Ibid.* 220/24;

[3] *Ibid.* 221/1–14;

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these the last i. e. Giridurga (mountain-fortress) is the best. The fort, where the king resides, should be provided with a town, market-place, temples etc. Residing in such a secure place, the king should protect his subjects. Special protection should be given to the Brāhmaṇas and the women[1].

11. *Administration*—The king should appoint various administrative officers for carrying on the administration[2], e. g. *Grāmādhipa* (officer in charge of the village), *Daśagrāmādhipa* (officer in charge of ten villages), *Śatagrāmādhipa* (officer in charge of hundred villages). Thus, the kingdom was organised in various Viṣayas under the provincial heads and all the Viṣayas were centrally ruled by the king and his cabinet of ministers. The remuneration of the offieers was fixed according to the nature of the work they had to perform. Their work should always be watched and reported to the king by the spies. The *Grāmādhipa* had to settle the dispute in the village ; but failing in that he should refer them to *Daśagrāmādhipa*, who would try to bring about a satisfactory settlement. With the aid of the sound administrative machinery, the king would be able to bring about peace and prosperity in his kingdom, and thus be in a position to enrich his own coffers. A king should never oppress his subjects, because thereby he is sure to go to the hell. A king like a pregnant woman shall forego all the pleasures of his own, and should only live for the well-being of his charge[3]. The king takes one-sixth of the income both from the good and the bad and that is the main source of his income[4].

12. *Crimes and punishment*—An account of the various criminal acts, as also punishment, fines etc., prescribed for them is given in the *Purāṇa*,[5] which is substantially based on the Smṛti literature. The king should punish a wicked person

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[1] *Ibid.* 222/1–10, 15, 19; [2] *Ibid.* 223/1–7.

[3] *Ibid.* 223/8; [4] *Ibid.* 223/10:

[5] *Ibid.* 223/12–22 ff., 227/1–10 ff.;

and levy fine on him as laid down in the Śāstra, half of which would go to the royal exchequer and the remaining half should be gifted away to the Brāhmaṇas. If a hidden treasure is discovered by a Brāhmaṇa then the whole of it should go to him. But if the discoverer is Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or Śūdra, then according to the seniority of his caste, he should get fourth, eighth or sixteenth part of that treasure. Perjury shall be punished with a fine equal to the eighth part of the money-value of the entire property of the perjurer. Unclaimed property should be kept in custody for three years after which it should be restored to the rightful owner, failing which it should go to the state. The property of the minors, widows etc. should go to the custody of the king. A person taking possession of the property of a chaste woman, a widow or a sick person should get punishment due to a thief. Loss committed by theft should be made good by the king, who should realise that amount from the officers in charge of guarding agaist thieves.

13. *Taxation*[1]—The king should levy a duty on goods manufactured in his own country equal to a twentieth part of the gross price. The duty to be levied on goods imported from foreign countries should be determined with a regard to the actual cost of their production, the wear and tear they have suffered in the course of the transit, and the actual profit derived by the merchant there-from. The duty in the later case shall not exceed a twentieth part of the net profit made by the importers, and the infringement of the rule shall be visited with punishment. Freights and tolls should not be collected from women and wandering mendicants. Duties payable on importing female slaves into the country should be determined with due regard to the country imported from and the time of the import. The duties payable on animals and gold shall be a fifth and a sixth part of the original value. A sixth part of their value

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[1] *Ibid.* 223/23–30.

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should be paid as the king's dues on imported articles of perfumery, cereals, flowers, roots, fruits, leaves, pot-herbs, hay, bamboos, hides, wicker work, earthen pots, stone vassels, honey, meat, and clarified butter. No tax was to be levied on the Brāhmaṇas. They should be protected and provided for by the king. Religious ceremonies performed by them result in peace, prosperity and happiness for the subjects. That king dies in whose realm a Brāhmaṇa well-versed in the Vedas famishes for want of food. Famine and pestilence devastate his dominion, which becomes a prey to thieves and robbers. The artisans had to work free for one month in a year for the king.

14. The king was also expected to look after the women of the harem and treat them kindly, but he should be cautious about them. One full chapter[1] is devoted to this topic, which has no direct bearing on the science of government. But the king being absolute, his private life also did affect the government to some extent. The *Agni-purāṇa* says, that the king shall pass his leisure hours in the company of the ladies of the household. The royal ladies shall foster energy in the king, and the royal prowess shall protect them in its turn. Kings and persons, ambitious of lofty station in life, should not be excessively fond of female company, nor visit them much[2].

15. *Saptāṅga Rājya, King's duties*—The seven essentials[3] of which the state is constituted are – *Svāmin* – the ruler wielding sovereign authority, *Amātya* – minister, *Janapada* – territory and population, *Durga* – defence (forts), *Daṇḍa* – armed forces, *Koṣa* – exchequer (finance) and *Mitra* – allies. The ruler wielding sovereign authority and the central figure in the state should be guarded against all danger, because the very existence of the state is due to him. A person acting against the interest of the seven essentials of the state

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[1] chap. 224;

[2] *Agn*, 224/3-4.

[3] *Ibid*. 225/11;

should be killed. The king should adopt a policy of harshness and mildness according to the needs of the circumstances.[1] For developing harmonious relations with the people at large, he should apply himself heart and soul to the state–affairs and the good of the people. He should study the three Vedas, the science of government, philosophy, the science of of wealth etc, He should exercise self-control, so that he may subjugate his subjects. Not fleeing from the battle-field, protection of the people and charitable gifts to the Brāhmaṇas constitute the greatest good of the king. He should look after the economic needs of the people and arrange for the sustenance of the poor, the orphan, the old and the widowed women. He should establish firmly the institution of Varṇa and Āśrama. Thus, the king should follow his duties and live up to his ideals. The sovereignty, the territory and the glory of the king owe their origin to the affection and good will of the people[2]. Hence, the foremost duty of the king is to cultivate the popular good will and affection. The above account of the duties of the king reveals the absolute power of the king, which commanded complete obedience on the part of the subjects.

16. *Seven Upāyas*—The seven expendients (*Upāyas*)[3] to be adopeed by the king for achieving success in his foreign policy are–Sāma (concilliation), *Upapradāna* or *Dāna* (monetary payment), *Bheda* (dissensions), *Daṇḍa* (war), *Māyā* (stratagem), *Upekṣā* (indifference) and *Indrajāla* (deceit). An account of *Ṣāḍguṇya* is also given, which is the six-fold course of action for a king in his foreign policy comprising *Sandhi* or alliance, *Vigraha* or war, *Yāna* or expedition, *Āsana* or halt, *Dvaidhībhāva* or duplicity, and *Saṁśraya* or seeking shelter.[4]

17. *King's daily programme*[5]—A king should rise from the bed when the duration of the night is only for two Muhūrtas (48 minutes), when the musical instruments would

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[1] *Ibid.* 225/12;
[2] *Ibid.* 2?5/33;
[3] *Ibid.* 226/5–6.
[4] *Ibid.* 234/17;
[5] *Ibid.* 235/1–17;

be giving sweet music and the bards singing his praises. He should interview his spies not known as his men to any body else. After that, he should listen to the account of income and expenditure. After morning duties, bath, prayers, etc., he should give generous gift to the Brāhmaṇas and secure their blessings. He should go to the royal court and see the Brāhmaṇas, Amātyas, Mantrīs, and the subjects being ushered in by the chamberlain. Having recovered reports about different work, and hearing the various decisions arrived at in that connection, he should hear civil suits. Then he should take secret counsel of his ministers. After that, he should take physical exercise and a bath. After meals and a short rest, he should read religious treatises, after which he should supervise his treasury and witness the parade of his soldiers. In the evening after prayer, he should send the spies on their different duties and then enter his seraglio to pass the night in music and song.

18. *Military campaign*[1]—Military campaign against an inimical country also formed an important item in the king's programme of life. The king should start on military campaign, when he finds that his rear is overpowered by a stronger king, whose territories lie next but one to him. He should have strong and stout warriors, good servants and an immense army. In the rainy season, he should employ forces consisting mainly of infantry and elephants, in winter of chariots and horses, and in the spring all the four categories should be represented.

19. *Dvādaśa Maṇḍala*—A reference is made to the circle of twelve kings[2] based on the diplomatic relation, which a king maintains with his neighbouring states. The kingdom or government over which a king exercises his direct control is known as the first in the Maṇḍala. The feaudatory or the dependent states of the empire should be known as the enemies. A neighbourly king (*Upeta*) should be regarded

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[1] *Ibid.* 228/1-8.

[2] *Ibid.* 233/12-19.

as a friend, next to him should be regarded as a friend of the enemy (*Śatru-Mitra*), after that friend's friend (*Mitra-mitra*), then the enemy of the friend's friend. This is with regard to the front, and about the rear the order is as follows – *Pārṣṇigraha* or enemy in the rear, *Ākranda* or friend, in the rear, and *Āsāra* or friend of *Pārṣṇigraha*, and after that *Ākrandāsāra*, friend of *Ākranda*. A reference is also made to *Madhyastha* king, situated between the enemy and the king desirous of conquest, and who is capable of effecting *Nigraha* or check and *Anugraha* or favour. Similarly *Udāsīna* king is also mentioned, who is capable of *Nigraha* and *Anugraha* in the case of all, and is very powerful. There are three kinds of enemies *viz.* ancestral, personal and artificial. Thus, a king desirous of conquest should conquer his enemies.

20. *Conclusion*—A perusal of the aforementioned account of the science of government as occurring in the *Agni-purāṇa* clearly shows that the *Purāṇa* knows only kingship as based on the principle of heredity and the theory of divine origin, hence autocratic, but in practise much mildended on account of the check exercised by semi-popular, aristocratic and economic corporations like Śreṇi, Pūga, Kula, Nigama etc. The strong moral sense and public opinion which the society had evolved, kept the klng in check. No reference is made to republics, which are mentioned in the earlier works. This may be explained on the ground that the *Agni-purāṇa* was compiled in the post-Gupta period, when the dearh-knell of the republics was already sounded. Thus, the *Agni-purāṇa* gives in nut-shell the various elements of the science of government as visualised by the later writers on the subject.

CHAPTER IX

ARTS AND SCIENCES

(1)

1. *Introductory*—The *Agni-purāṇa* does not embody chapters dealing with art in general but deals with merely architectural details about the temples dedicated to various deities, and carving out images of various gods, thus referring idirectly to the art of sculpture. The arts of fighting, archery, riding etc. find a reference in the *Purāṇa.* Military science and the science of medicine together with its allied science of physiology have also been inserted.

(2)

2. *Architecture and Sculpture*—The subject of architecture and sculpture as described in the *Purāṇa* may be summed up under these heads–location of temples dedicated to different gods, rules for building temples[1] etc., laying down the foundations of divine edifice, dimensions of brick[2], etc., structure of a divine temple or edifice,[3] rules to be observed in sculpturing an image[4], Śāligrāma stone[5], dimensions of the image of the goddesses[6], mode of building Gopuras, etc., construction of halls[7], general characteristics of divine edifice and laying down of various buildings in the city[8]. In these chapters, some details are given about the art of making images of of the deities and their ceremonious installation. Construction

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[1] *Agn.* chap. 36, c. f., *Mats.* 258–270; *Gar.* 45–48;

[2] *Ann.* chap. 41;

[3] *Ibid.* chap. 42;

[4] *Ibid.* chap. 44;

[5] *Ibid.* chap. 45–46; c. f. *Padm.* (*Uttarakhaṇḍa*) 122–127;

[6] *Agn.* chap. 50–53;

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 65;

[8] *Ibid.* chap. 104–106.

of various edifices in honour of the gods and the gondesses is also described.

3. Details about the carving out of images, their shape, dimensions and other constructive details, ceremonious installation etc. are described. Then follow details about the size, diemension, forms etc. of a variety of temples. This is followed by an account of laying out of towns and cities[1] with particular reference to the location of temples consecrated to various deities. While describing the laying out of a city, the *Purāṇa* states that a plot of land or ground measuring eight or four miles should be enclosed with walls. The ground should be divided into inter-linear chambers as laid down in the case of a *Vāstumaṇḍala*. The lower roofed rooms on each side of the gate should be made to extend over a considerably large area and the gates should be six cubits wide, so as to admit elephants and other large animals passing through them. A city resembling a *Vajrasūci* in shape, or which can be reached by two or three ways should be held as inauspicious. The fore-part of the city laid out or built in the shape of a bow or *Vajranāga* should be recknoned as the most auspicious.

4. *Construction of palaces*—The palaces should be constructed as forming one, two, three or four sides of a square, the latter admitting of a sub-division into two hundred different classes and which may be extended so as to cover five hundred and five different types of architecture according as their wings and varandas would vary in structure and number. The house known as *Triśāla* and which occupies the three sides of the plot or the ground on which the same has been built is divided into four different classes, while the houses belonging to the style of the architecture known as *Dviśāla* and *Ekaśāla* may be divided into five or four sub-classes respectively, according to the difference of their structure and size[2]. The varandas of the intervening aperture between the

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[1] *Ibid.* 106/1–4 ff; [2] *Ibid.* 106/20–23.

rows of the rooms as the case might be, should number twenty-eight both in a house and the city or they should be made to number four, seven, fifty-five, six, twenty, twenty-eight or eight only. Purāṇic Hinduism being deeply rooted at the time the *Purāṇa* was compiled, it was regarded as a sacred duty to errect temples in honour of the gods and ceremoniously install their images therein.

5. *Temple architecture*—The topic of building temples is dealt with in some details in the *Agni-purāṇa*. Sanctity came to be attached to the art of architecture, which was symbolised in the conception of *Vāstu-puruṣa*. The *Agni-purāṇa*[1] says, "In the former times, there was that material principle dangerous to behold. The gods cast him down in the terrestrial globe and he is known as the *Vāstupuruṣa*". The construction of temples and other religious edifices was preceded by various ceremonies to consecrate the plot of land on which the particular edifice was to be constructed and to ward off the evil effect of various evil spirits.

6. The *Purāṇa*[2] gives details of the construction of a divine palace. A plot of square ground is to be divided into sixteen equal rectangular divisions, the four central squares of which are to be filled up with iron, the remaining twelve being left for the walls to be raised upon. The plinth shall extend over four such quadrilateral spaces and the height of the wall should be twice that of its length. The cornice should begin at this point and an open platform having the quarter breadth of the space enclosed between the plinth and the cornice should be raised all round the edifice. The equal opening having the same width should be left on the two sides for exit. The ground elevation is to be made at first equal to the length of the roof or twice that length as the laws of beauty may require. In front of the palace and on the lines running parallel through the sides of its inner chamber, the structure known as *Mukhamaṇḍapa* or

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[1] *Ibid.* 40/1; [2] *Ibid.* 42/1-75.

the entrance hall should be constructed and adorned with pillars. It should be of the same length with or longer than the principle palace by the length of Pāda. The anti-chamber known as *Paścūtamaṇḍapa* should be built some eighty.one Pādas or steps from the site of the principle habitation. Then follows an account of another type of structure built according to the measure of the image installed therein. The blessed stool or *Piṇḍikā* is to be eonstructed of the proportionate measure with the image, the adytum of the temple will be half the *piṇḍikā*, the walls shall have the width equal to the length of the adytum, the height will be equal to the length of the wall, the top of the pinnacle, should have double the height of the pinnacle and the entrance chambers or the *Mukha Maṇḍcpa* shall be comprised of the same measure and shall be in the front. The eighth part of the adytum should be set apart for opening exits for litters etc., which shall be three in number and are to be placed under the three arches on the left side of the temple. Four lines should be flung upward for the construction of the vault. A lion is to be built over the middle part of the vault. At the top of the vault, a little platform or top chamber should be constructed, which should have a length equal to twice its breadth and upon the same should be placed the conical ornaments generally placed over the pinnacles of temples known as *Kalaśa.* The images of Caṇḍa and Pracaṇḍa should be carved in the door frame and they should occupy the quarter part thereof. In the globe over the *Kalaśa* should be carved the image of the goddness Lakṣmī in an extremely beautiful manner, sitting upon a lotus flower and the Diggajas pouring water over her out of the pitchers raised with their trunks. The height of the walls surrounding the palace will be equal to the quarter part of the latter, while *Gopura* or the principle gate will be less than the same in height by a Pāda. A divine image measuring five cubits should have a pedestal measuring a cubit ouly. A *Maṇḍapa* or shed known as *Garuḍamaṇḍapa* should be raised in the front, and eight turrets or pinnacles should be raised over the vault on the head of the image, one in each quater of the heaven. The palace should be decorated with garlands all round, which may be hung so low as to reach the seven-eighth part of the door, the first one-eighth portion being forbidden as inauspicious[1].

7. *Construction of Sāptabhauma hall*[2]—After *Vāstuyāga*, the construction work should begin. The halls may be built after the model the consecrator likes and the images of the gods may be installed in them without any reservation whatever, except that such buildings must not be constructed on the crossings of the roads, nor in the interior of villages, nor on the props or the pillars, so as to have a hanging or serial aspect. A Sāptabhauma hall sacred to the god Hari should be built. The same rule holds good in building temples of the gods as in the case of erecting mansions of the kings. The edifice should be built of a quadrilateral shape not having sides or walls built at tangents to each other. The building should consist of three or two courts or yards, or should contain a single row only, and its entire breadth should not be made abnormally large, as a comparatively greater breadth is deemed harmful and undue length of such an edifice is said to bring ill-health to the consecrator. The length and breadth should therefore be made of equal measure.

8. *Temple, adytum*[3]—A square plot of the ground should be divided into four equal rectangular divisions. The breadth of the walls should occupy a quarter part of the entire area of such a square, while the *Garbha* or adytum should comprise an eighth part thereof, the pedestal measuring a Pāda only. In the alternative, the pedastal should occupy the whole of the adytum where the ground or the site on which the same would be built would be divided into five such chambers or divisions as described above. In breadth, the walls should

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[1] *Ibid.* 42/1-25;

[2] *Ibid.* 65/1-5.

[3] *Ibid.* 104/1-6 ff.

occupy one such division with holes or cavities let into its body. The two parts of the entire rectangular plot should be within the adytum. The vault of the adytum should be so arched as to cover three such parts, the walls proper occupying the rest or the remaining part. In the case where the site of the temple would be built to extend over one such entire division in breadth, the adytum would be made as much broad and the breadth of the pedestal should be made commensurable with that of two such chambers. The height of the temple would be double or greater than twice the breadth by a Pāda or triple the breadth of the same, the entire altitude in certain instances being made greater than twice the breadth of the temple by half a part measure or equal to the half or a third part of the entire area of the ground on which the same would be constructed. The inner circumference of the vaults would measure a Pāda less than the measure of the ground, the external circumference (*Paridhi*) would measure a third part thereof, in which the doors, exits etc. would be opened up. The images of the gods Bhairava, Cāmuṇda and Nāṭyeśa should be placed at the middle part of ths body of the temple. The images of the Ādityas should be placed in the exterior of the eastern wall etc.

9. *Five classes of temples*—The five classes of temples or divine edifices are known as Vairāja, Puṣpaka, Kailāśa, Maṇika and Triviṣṭapa. The first of these is characterised by rectangular shape, the second resembling the first in structure, while the third and fifth classes are respectively circular and octagonal, the fouth class being of the shape of a segment or a circle. Each of the above classes is divided into nine sub-divisions, thus giving rise to fortyfive different structures. The nine types of Vairāja are known as Meru, Mandara, Vimāna, Bhadra, Sarvatobhadra, Cāruka, Nandika, Nandivardhamāna and Śrīvatsa. The nine temples that owe their origin to the subdivision Puṣpaka are Valabhī, Gṛharāja, Śālāgṛha, Mandira, Viśāla, Brahma - mandira, Bhuvana,

Prabhava and Śibikāveśma. The nine types of Kailāśa are called Valaya, Dundubhi, Padma, Mahāpadmaka, Vardhanī, Uṣṇīṣa, Śaṅkha, Kalaśa and Khavṛkṣa. The nine types of Maṇika are Gaja, Vṛṣabha, Haṁsa, Garutmān, Ṛkṣanāyaka, Bhūṣaṇa, Bhūdhara, Śrījaya and Pṛthivīdhara. The nine temples of the Triviṣṭapa variety are Vajra, Cakra, Svastika, Vajra-svastika, Citra-Svastika, Khaḍga, Gadā, Śrīkaṇṭha and Vijaya[1].

10. *Pinnacles, terrace*—The pinnacles or terraces should be constructed of a height equal to half of that of the neck of the temple, the top platform should be divided into ten equal parts, and the breadth of the shoulder of the temple would be equal to five such parts thereof. The image of Pracaṇḍa carved there should be made equal to four such divisions. The doors should be made so as to face the cardinal points of the compass and not as to open on the angular points of the heaven. The pedastal should be constructed so as to occupy the two posterior corners of the temple and to extend upto the middle part of the adytum.[2]

11. The measures of the different parts of the temples are also given[3]. The Maṇḍapa should measure twenty cubits in length, twenty-eight cubits in breadth, the entire circumference would measure twenty-eight cubits and the width of the wall would measure nine. The ground elevation which would vary both in shape and size according to the number of passages intersecting the same, should be in the same line with the foot of the wall. A divine mansion occupying the northern and eastern part of the ground is known as *Daṇḍa*, while one built on the eastern and the western part is named *Vāta*. A divine mansion occupying the western and the north-western part of the ground is called *Gṛhāvalī*, while one without the wing on the west is called *Triśāla*. A structure devoid of its eastern wing is styled as *Sukṣetra*.

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[1] *Ibid.* 104/15–30.

[2] *Ibid.* 104/31–34; [3] *Ibid.* 105/4–22;

A three winged building constructed without the rows of rooms on the north is called *Śālā* A *Triśāla* built without its wing on the west is considered fatal to the descendants of the consecrator.

12. *Images*—The *Agni-purāṇa*[1] does not give the technical details of iconography, but while describing the construction of the temples refers to the installation of the images of various deities, which commanded popular respect. And in this connection, certain details of making images of various materials are also given. The images are generally made of seven different substances, such as clay, wood, iron, gem, stone, sandal and flowers.

13. Then follow the details about carving images of various gods and goddesses with all their paraphernalia[2]. The carver of a stone-image of Vāsudeva should divide the block into nine parts along a line drawn through its centre. The stone is to be divided by lines, each a finger apart and such divisions are to be called Svāṅgula, according to the Śūrpa measurement. A part or division of the stone enclosing a space measuring two such fingers is known by the name of Golaka or Kālanetra. One of the afore-said nine divisions should be placed on each side of the image and the image of the long measured Garuḍa should also have a place therein[3]. The image shall be decorated with ornaments and emblems. The Cakra should be placed in the upper right hand, the lotus in the lower one on the right, the Śaṅkha in the upper left hand and Gadā in the lower one on the left. The images of Śrī and Puṣṭi carrying a lotus and the other a harp are to be carved as reaching the thighs of of the image of Vāsudeva. The images of two Vidyādhara holding garlands in their hands should be carved into the space occupied by the halo of the head of the principal image; and the images of celestial elephants are to be made in the region of the halo[4].

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[1] *Ibid.* 43/1–2;

[2] *Ibid.* chap. 45–53.

[3] *Agn.* 44/1–5 ff;

[4] *Ibid.* 44/46–47;

14. The god Viṣṇu should also be depicted in different manifestations. In his fish and tortoise manifestations, he should resemble a fish or a tortoise. In his boar incarnation, he should be endowed with a human body, carrying Gadā and other weapons in his right arm, and conchshell, Lakṣmī or a lotus flower in the left. The Narsiṁha incarnation should be represented as having a lion's head on a human body with four heads two holding Gadā and Cakra, and the other two tearing open the entrails of Hiraṇyakaśipu, who should be represented as lying on the thighs of the god. Similarly, other incarnations Vāmana, Paraśurama, Rāma, Balarāma, Buddha and Kalkī should be represented with their distinctive marks and characteristics[1]. The god Viṣṇu in general is to be represented as possessing eight hands, riding Garuḍa, and holding in his right hands a sword, Gadā, bow and arrow, and Kheṭaka in the left, while the remaining two hands are to be represented as giving blessings. Brahmā, the creator, is to be represented as possessing four hands and four faces, looking towards the four quarters and riding the swan, and his long breast and clotted hair reaching down the prodigious belly. In his right hands are the rosary and the sacrificial laddle, in his left a waterpot and a vessel to hold the sacrificial clarified butter; and the goddess Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī should be made as respectively waiting on the right and the left. The god Śaṅkara is to be represented as endowed with three eyes. The manifestation of Viṣṇu designated as Rudra is to be represented as carrying a trident and a sword in his two right hands and Gadā and Cakra in the two left. The right half part of the body shall have all the features of the image of Mahādeva, and the left those of Viṣṇu, and the images of Lakṣmī and Gaurī are to be located on each side.

14. *Caṇḍikā*—The goddess Caṇḍikā should be represented as having twenty hands, ten on the right and ten on the

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[1] *Ibid.* 49/1–11.

left side, holding various things e. g. trident, sword, spear, discuss, axe, bow, bell, banner etc. The baffalo should be represented below with its head entirely severed and the *Asura* (demon) should be sculptured as rushing out of that severed neck foaming with rage and brandishing his sword in the air. The goddess is to be represented in a standing posture with her right foot resting on the back of the lion and her left on the shoulders of the demon, round whose neck is twisted the serpant-noose of the goddess and who is pounced upon by her celestial lion. This image of Caṇḍikā is to be made as possessing three eyes, fully armed and crushing the enemy of the gods[1].

15. *Durgā etc.*—The images of the nine different manifestations of Durgā should be made as standing in that particular attitude, which goes by the name of *Āliḍha* (the attitude in shooting in which the right knee is advanced and the left leg is retraced)[2]. The image of Saubhāgyā and Urdhikā, holding in their palms the offering of the fruit are to be installed on the right hand side of the goddess, and that of Lakṣmī holding a full-blown lotus flower and a Śrīphala in her right and left hands is to be located on the left. The images of the goddess Sarasvatī carrying in her hands a book, a rosary and a lyre, and of the white complexioned river Gaṅgā holding a pitcher and a lotus flower in hands and bestriding a sea-monster (*Makara*), together with the image of the river goddess Yamunā represented as a damsel of a dusky hue and carrying a pitcher and seated on a tortoise, and that of Tumbaru set forth as a white coloured man carrying a harp and a trident and riding on a bull are to be worshipped in front of the image of the goddess. The four faced Brāhmī is to be represented as of a fair complexion and riding a swan and carrying in her hands Kuṇda, Akṣapatra, rosary and a sacrificial laddle; while Śāṅkarī is to be represented as seated on a bull carry-

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[1] *Ibid.* 50/1–6.

[2] *Ibid.* 50/6–13;

ing a bow and arrow in her right hand and a Cakra in her left. Kaumārī should be represented as of a red colour riding a peacock, possessed of two arms and wielding a spear, Vārāhī should be made as a maiden equipped with a Daṇḍa, a sword, a mace and a conch-shell and holding in her two right hands the celestial conch, the Cakra and the mace, and the lotus flower in her left hand, and as sitting on a buffalo. Aindrī should be represented as having a thousand eyes and holding a thunderbolt in her left hand[1], while Cāmuṇḍā should be sculptured as having made a foot-stool of the dead body of a man and as possessed of three eyes sunk in their respective sockets and as a woman who has lost all flesh and has been reduced to skeleton with hair angrily standing up erect on her head, and wearing a tiger's skin round her extremely emaciated body[2].

16. *Vināyaka etc.*—Vināyaka should be made as having the body of a man and the head of an elephant, and possessing a huge trunk and a belly. He should be represented as having made an axe of one of his own tusks and holding the same in his right hand, while a sweet ball and a lotus flower should be placed in his two left hands. The image of Skanda, the divine commander-in-chief, also known as Śākha or Viśākha, should be represented as a boy possessing two arms and riding on a peacock with the images of Sumukhī and Viḍālākṣī installed on his own side. The god may be represented as endowed with one or six faces, or possessing six or twelve hands[3]. The faminine manifestation of the divine energy revealed as Rudra–Carcikā should have an image possessing eight hands. The goddesses should be represented as wearing the skin of an elephant and her legs should be made to appear as raised up in the attitude of dancing, the trappings of the little drums and human skulls girdled round her waist measuring time with her dance,

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[1] *Ibid.* 50/15–21; [2] *Ibid.* 50/21–22.

[3] *Ibid.* 50/23–27;

and hence she is called the queen or the goddess of dancing; she is also known by the epithet of Rudra Cāmuṇḍā. The goddess sculptured in a sitting posture and as having four faces is known as Mahālakṣmī. The goddess Kṣamā should be represented as a woman old and possessing two arms with her mouth widely opened, and surrounded on all sides by jackals. The manifestation of the goddess known as Kṣamākarī should be imaged as having very large teeth and in a kneeling posture[1].

17. *Sun*—The sun rides in a chariot provided with a single wheel and drawn by seven horses, carrying in his two hands the two celestial lotus flowers and the emblems of light and animation. On his right hand stands his attendant Kuṇḍin holding in his hand a pen and an inkstand, symbolising the computation of the age of the universe by the process of the suns, and the recovery of the merits and demerits of the beings dwelling therein the register of the heaven. In the alternative, the sun god Bhāskara should be represented as alone and riding on horse-back. The Dikpālas should be imaged as each carying two lotus flowers and weapons in their hands and also conferring blessing, each in his respective order[2].

18. *Indra etc.*—Indra is to be imaged as riding on elephant and wielding a thunder-bolt, and Agni as seated on a goat and holding a spear in his hand. Yama is to be depicted as riding a buffalo and carrying a club. Varuṇa is to be delineated as riding a sea-monster and carrying a trident in his hand, while Vāyu is to be depicted as driving an antelope with a full furled banner gaily flying by his side. Kubera should be pictured as carrylng a mace and riding a sheep, and Iśāna with his clotted hair as sitting on a bullock.[3]

19. *Other works*—The foregoing account gives an idea of the details about the art of architecture and sculpture

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[1] *Ibid.* 50/31-37;

[2] *Ibid.* 51/1-3 ff.

[3] *Ibid.* 52/14-15;

that are embodied in the *Agnipurāṇa*. A critical examination of these details may easily reveal that the author of the *Agnipurāṇa* may have drawn from some treatise dealing with the theory of these arts as known during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. The arts of architecture and sculpture are dealt with in several other works. The *Matsya-purāṇa* discusses *Vāstu-vidyā*[1] and the details of iconography[2], the architectural details about the construction of palaces, their names and characteristics[3]. It also gives details about making images of various gods and goddesses, measurements of the limbs[4], distinctive marks of an image, its shape and size[5]. Various ceremonies associated with the installation of the images in the temples are also described[6]. A comparative study of the *Mastya* account and the *Agni* account shows several points of agreement between the two. This topic is also described in the *Garuḍa*[7], *Bhaviṣya*[8], *Padma*[9], *Viṣṇudharmottara*[10], Hemādri's *Caturvarga*[11]*-citāmaṇi* etc. Certain other works also deal with the subject. Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*[12] gives details of making the images of gods and goddesses, which agree with those in the Paurāṇas especially the *Agnipurāṇa*. Details about the making of the image of the god sun are in close agreement with those in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[13] and *Viśvakarmā-śilpa*[14], *Rūpamaṇḍana*[15] etc. Gopinath[16]

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[1] chap. 256–257;

[2] chap. 258–263;

[3] chap. 269;

[4] chap. 258;

[5] chap. 259;

[6] chap. 265–268;

[7] chap. 45–48;

[8] chap. 124–130;

[9] *Uttarakhaṇḍa* chap. 122–127;

[10] III, 44 ff.;

[11] *Vratakhaṇḍa* Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 76–122; vide *HD*. vol. II, part II pp. 712–713;

[12] chap. 58;

[13] p. 175 (*Vaingavāsī edition;*

[14] A manuscript quoted by M. N. Basu in *Archæological Survey of Mayurbhanja* p. 85.

[15] Quoted in *EH*. vol. I, part II, *appendix C*, pp. 113–120;

[16] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I & II.

Rao makes a comparative study of the Paurāṇic passages on the subject and shows how the various Purāṇas agree on the point.

20. *Estimate*—A critical study of the details of temple-architecture and iconography both in the north and south during the period will clearly show how the same agree with those given in the *Agnipurāṇa*. Similarly, a critical study of these details also reveals that from the technical point of view the temples and images discussed in the *Purāṇa* may be likened to those belonging to the Āryāvarta style of architecture as discussed by the critics of Indian art[1]. N. K. Bhattasali[2] makes a critical study of the images of the gods and the goddesses found in Bengal and shows how in pre-Muhammadan period (10th-12th cent. A. D.) sectarian form of Hinduism was very popular in Bengal[3]. Numerous images of Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods and goddesses are discovered. He notices the details of iconography in the case of those images and points out how they agree with those described in the Purāṇas including the *Agni*[4]. Thus the *Agnipurāṇa* account of architecture and iconography, wherein references are made to various gods and goddesses, more or less, points to an age that witnessed the full growth of popular or Paurāṇic Hinduism[5].

(3)

21. *Military Science*—*Agnipurāṇa* gives details about the military science under the following heads- the science of archery[6], the worship of arms[7], the use of arms on horse-back and while riding elephants[8]. and the thirty-two kinds of military[9] art. The *Dhanurveda* or the science of archery

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[1] *HFI*. chap. I, *Introduction*; [2] *IB*;

[3] *Ibid*. pp. 78–79; [4] *Ibid*. pp. 110–111, 124–125, 144–150, 181 ff. 200–270,

[5] *HFI* chap. VII, VIII; [6] *Agn*. chap. 249;

[7] *Ibid*. chap. 250; [8] *Ibid*. chap. 251;

[9] *Ibid*. chap. 252.

is described as divided into four chapters embodying the account of the training of the five classes of warriors, e. g. the chariot-warriors, the elephant-men, cavalry, infantry and wrestlers. The weapons generally used in fighting are described as of five classes *viz.* weapons thrown or projected with a machine, those thrown with hands, those cast with hands and retained in them after use, those which are permanently retained in the hand, and the hands themselves such as in wrestiing. The weapons are again divided into two classes, those of straight shape and those of curved shape. The weapons that are usually projected with a machine are arrows and missiles, while slings and Tomaras fall within the second class. The weapons such as *Pāśa* are included in the third class, while sword forms the fourth. Wrestling is the only sort of fight which is possible without any weapons[1]. Instruction in the science of archery, drilling and other tactics of warfare is to be imparted by a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya instructor. Members of the Śūdra caste and mixed-castes could join the army as soldiers. Fighting matches between men of equal strength, power and prowess are to be arranged. A battle fought with bows and arrows should be deemed as most honourable, the one fought with nooses as the second best, but one fought with sword as the worst. The battle in which the combatants engage one another in wrestling should be considered as only an apology for a fight[2]. Then follows a detailed account of various positions and postures necessary in archery *viz.* Samapāda. Vaiśākha, Maṇḍala, Ālīḍha, Pratyālīḍha, Sthānam, Niścala, Vikaṭa, Sampuṭa Svastika[3] etc. Besides the use of bow and arrow, details regarding the use of other weapons e. g. noose, sword, Bhīndipāla iron-rod, laguḍa, Śūla, Tomara, Gadā, Paraśu etc. are also given. Thirty sorts of gaits in which a soldier armed with a sword and shield should move about before coming to actual blows are given. The details of wrestling are also not lacking[1].

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[1] *Ibid* 249/4–5;

[2] *Ibid.* 249/6–7;

[3] *Ibid.* 250/16–19;

22. Elephants played an important role in the ancient war-fare. Hence they also find a special mention as being necessary to obstruct the passage of an enemy flying through jungles etc., to trample down under their feet the soldiers of hostile army, to clear the ground of shrubs and undergrowth, and to protect the warriors riding them by turning their trunks over their heads[2].

(4)

23. *Āyurveda*—The *Agnipurāṇa* embodies a few chapters on *Āyurveda* or the science of medicine, and discusses the various topics bearing on the science *viz.* system of medicine propounded by the holy Dhanvantari[3], organic, mental, extraneous and functional diseases[4], Indian Pharmacopœia[5], hygienic effects of different trees and shrubs planted around the dwelling of a man[6], medicine for infantile dysentery or for all diseases brought about by the vitiated state of mother's milk[7], infallible celestial medicine as disclosed by the Sage Ātreya[8], medicine which can avoid death or increase the duration of life[9], diseases of elephants[10], diseases of horses[11], and physiology[12]. Thus the *Agni-purāṇa* tries to describe, though not very systematically, the various aspects of the science of medicine as expounded by masters like Caraka and Suśruta. At the very outset, the god of fire is made to say, "Now I shall deal with the system of medicine as propounded by the holy Dhanvantari to his disciple Suśruta, and which contains remedies that are potent enough to bring the dead again to life"[13].

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[1] *Ibid.* 252/12–25. [2] *Ibid.* 250/16–19; [3] *Ibid.* chap. 279;
[4] *Ibid.* chap. 280; [5] *Ibid.* chap. 281;
[6] *Ibid.* chap. 282; [7] *Ibid.* chap. 283;
[8] *Ibid.* chap. 285; [9] *Ibid.* chap. 266;
[10] *Ibid.* chap. 287; [11] *Ibid.* chap. 288–289;
[12] *Ibid.* chap. 351; [13] *Ibid.* chap. 279/1.

24. Diseases are usually grouped under the following heads—organic, mental, extraneous and functional. Fever and leprosy fall under the first head of ailments, while anger, envy etc. are classed as mental derangements. Diseases which owe their origin to any extraneous cause such as hurt etc. are known as *Āgantuka*, while the functional disorders are such as may be best illustrated by thirst or any other sort of inflamatory fever[1]. Dhanvantari is described as suggesting to his disciple Suśruta that various presents should be made to the Brāhmaṇas for warding off the diseases[2]. *Vāta* (wind), *Kapha* (phlegm) and *Pitta* (bile), the three cardinal principles of human system, and the seven component principles of the human frame have been dealt with. The food taken by a man after being fully digested in the intestines serves two distinct and different purposes. A part of the assimilated chyle contributes to the formation of urine, perspiration and the slimy mucus that is formed within the nostrils etc., whereas the other part is transformed into the serum, the anterior condition of blood out of which tissues of muscles or flesh are made. Similarly, fat is formed out of flesh, out of fat bone, out of bone semen and out of semen strength and attachment are formed[3]. The duties of a physician are also mentioned. While treating a patient, he should consider the nature of the country, the season during which a disease is contracted, as also the strength and stamina of the patient and the nature of the disease together with the potency of the remedial measures he proposes to adopt in a particular case[4].

25. *Diseases cause*—Then the *Purāṇa*[5] gives also an account of how various diseases are caused. Things, which are dry or cooling in their effects, tend to promote an accumulation of vital wind in the system; while things that are hot, such as the three sorts of astringents, tend to promote

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[1] *Ibid*. 280/1–2;
[2] *Ibid*. 280/3–6;
[3] *Ibid*. 280/7–9;
[4] *Ibid*. 280/10–14;
[5] 280/17-20.

a copious secretion of bile, whereas things that are sweet, cooling and non-irritant, tend to augment an accumulation of phlegm. These humours are increased by using articles that are possessed of like virtues, while they are abated by using things of contrary virtues. Things, which have a saline or acid taste, should be deemed as phlegm making and accordingly pacifiers of the deranged or increased humour of wind. Similarly, articles, which have a pungent, acid or a saline taste should be deemed as bile making, while things that are bitter, sweet or astringent in their taste should be deemed as antibilious. The virtues, ascribed to each of the individual tastes referred to above do not belong to them as such, but are produced by their chemical change or reaction. Phlegm is accumulated in winter, reaches its climax and makes itself manifest in spring, and is subsided in the summer months. Similarly, wind is accumulated in the summer, exhibits its peculiar symptoms mostly in the nights of the rainy season, and is subsided in the autumn. Bile is accumulated during the rains, produces its characteristic symptoms in the autumn, and is subsided in fore-winter. The three seasons such as the rainy etc. should be deemed as the Visargas. According to the *Purāṇa*, all diseases are due either to an over-loading of the stomach, or to an absence or insufficiency of food as well as to an artificial restraining of the impulses of eructation, micturition etc. Only twothirds portion of the entire cavity of the stomach should be crammed with food, the rest should be left empty for the working of the humour of wind. A remedial measure is nothing but an agent (drug etc.) which operates contrarily to a cause or to a set of causes that has or have engendered the diseases[1].

26. *Symptoms and Cure*—The characteristic symptoms of deranged wind are pain in joints, bitter taste in the mouth, dryness of the lips, parched condition of the region of the palate, yawning, and goose-flesh. Similarly, a deranged state

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[1] *Ibid.* 280/31–34.

of bile is marked by yellowness of the eyes, nails and veins, bitter taste in the mouth, thirst, heat and a burning sensation of the skin. Similarly, a disordered state of phlegm is followed by a general sense of langour, heaviness of the limbs, shivering, sweet taste in the mouth, and a longing for heat or warm touch. Warm rice, lubrication, emollient food in general and draughts of oil would be deemed as effective cures for deranged wind. The use of clarified butter and thickened milk, and basking in the moon-beams should be deemed as antibillious in their effects. Physical exercise, medicated oil of *Triphalā*, and honey should be deemed as the antidote of a deranged condition of phlegm. A racitation of the hymn to Viṣṇu should be deemed as a safe cure for all sorts of distempers[1].

27. *Medicinal preparations*—The account of the various medicinal preparations is also given in the *Agnipurāṇa*[2]. Generally, herbal extracts are described as being used for such preparations. A physician, well-versed in the knowledge of the herbal extracts as well as their potency and the altered virtues which they acquired through chemical reaction, may even be employed by the king[3]. Some details about the preparation of various extracts etc. are also given. The extracts having a sweet, acid or saline taste should be deemed as belonging to the *Somaja* class, whereas those that are pungent, bitter or brackish should be deemed as appetisers. A thing may acquire three different tastes by a process of chemical reaction, such as bitter, acid and saline. Drugs again are divided into two classes according as they exert stimulating or soothing virtues[4].

28. *Rules of good and sound health*—The *Purāṇa* gives certain instructions for maintaining sound health. The three physical functions of eating, sleeping and coition are essential to a healthy condition of life; but a man should neither

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[1] *Ibid.* 280/44-48;

[2] chap. 281;

[3] *Agn.* 281/1-2;

[4] *Ibid.* 281/3-7 ff;

entirely abstain from, nor excessively indulge in them, as both such conducts are harmful and injurious to health[1]. Entire abstemiousness or overgratification of physical propensities are the two main sources of all ailments, and hence a man should practise moderation in his food, drink and general habits. The remedial measures in their turn are again grouped under five different heads, such as *Rasa* (juice), *Kalka* (cakes of poultices), *Śṛta* (distilled extracts), *Śīta* (cold juice) and Phāṇṭa[2] (fresh extracts). There are hundred and sixty different modes of rubbing or shampooing the body of a patient, which are equally efficacious in their effects as positive remedial agents whether mineral or vegetable, and the man who is well skilled in them may bid fair to be matchless, as far as the art of healing is concerned[3]. A man should not take any physical exercise so long as the food would remain undigested in his stomach, nor just after having drunk water or taken a full meal. A man should not practise gymnastics after the lapse of a quarter part of the day, nor bathe in cold water just after having come out of his gymnasium[4]. Various decoctions are also described as important remedial measures[5]. Various recipes of medicine and their curative properties are also described[6]. Dhanvantari is described as laying stress on the need of planting different trees and shrubs around a dwelling house, because their presence leads to wonderful hygienic effects. Plakṣa, mango-trees, banian trees and Aśvattha are regarded as very important for this purpose. Tanks should also be exacavated in the garden, and arms of rivers should be made to turn into the same[7]. The *Purāṇa* devotes a few chapters[8] to the description of the various

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[1] *Ibid.* 281/17–18;

[2] *Ibid.* 281/20–23.

[3] *Ibid.* 281/23–26 ff;

[4] *Ibid.* 281/31;

[5] *Ibid.* 279/22; 283/1, 5, 23; 285/6;

[6] *Ibid.* 286/1–3, 6–7, 16;

[7] *Ibid.* 282/5;

[8] *Ibid.* chap. 287–292.

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diseases of elephants, horses, studs, cows etc., and gives in some details their (elephants' etc.) merits, as also good and auspicious signs, which are indicative of good breed.

(5)

29. *Conclusion*—Thus, the *Agni-purāṇa* in keeping with its general policy of giving the quintessence (*Śārātsāram*) of the various branches of knowledge has described the science of medicine or *Āyureda* having based its information on the works of Suśruta, Caraka, Vāgbhaṭa etc. Besides, various arts and other sciences also find their adequate place in it.

CHAPTER X

Conclusion

1. *Position of Importance*—The foregoing critical survey of the various topics bearing on different subjects as described in the *Agni-purāṇa* clearly shows the position of importance which the *Purāṇa* occupies in the cultural and literary history of India. Being regarded as of late origin, its study was neglected at the hands of the scholars. But in the light of the facts stated in the foregoing chapters, it will be obvious that without properly and critically studying it, a study of the development of Purāṇic literature would remain incomplete. For, in the case of the later Purāṇas the *Agnipurāṇa* may be ragarded as representative, as it reflects the main traits discernible in the last phase of the development of Purāṇic literature.

2. *Development*—The *Agnipurāṇa* belongs to that phase of Purāṇic development when the Purāṇic literature was enlarged by the addition of sectarian and other matter. It is a summarisation and compilation of works on various subjects, spread over three or four centuries. As a result of the critical study of the *Agnipurāṇa*, the process of its development may easily be discerned. With the subsequent additions to the original kernel, the *Purāṇa* assumed its extant form. This process of development may roughly have spread over about three centuries from A. D. 700 or 800 to A. D. 1000 or 1100.

3. *Spurious work*—R. C. Hazra[1] in his learned article shows that the extant *Agni-purāṇa* is a spurious work, which with the spread of Tāntricism attained great popularity. The genuine *Agnipurāṇa* had to save itself from extinction by assuming a different title *viz. Vahni-purāṇa* wrongly regarded as an Upapurāṇa by the modern scholars.

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[1] Jol. Vol. V, No. 4, June 1956, pp. 411–412.

4. *Literary product*—The *Agnipurāṇa* may easily be regarded as the product of the post-Gupta age, and as such it reflects the various aspects of the progress achieveed in different spheres of life during the period. Thus the *Purāṇa* embodies topics bearing on diverse subjects *viz.* mythology, religion, philosophy, history, geography, poetics, dramaturgy, grammar, phonetics, lexicography, science of government, Dharmaśāstra-matter, arts and sciences. It represents a great literary effort of encyclopædic nature, representing the literary traditions of an age which witnesed all-sided progress and development in the domain of literary and cultural pursuits. The importance of the *Purāṇa* in the literary history of Sanskrit language, especially the history of poetics and dramaturgy, can hardly be over-estimated.

5. *Popular response*—The *Agnipurāṇa* is of great value, as it represents the popular response, as do the Purāṇas in general, to the great doctrines and theories enunciated by the great masters. It reveals, how the people in general reacted to the literary and cultural traditions set up for them by their philosophers and eminent literary figures. The very history of development of the *Agnipurāṇa* shows how the popular beliefs, superstitions, mythology, legends, as also technical subjects, arts and sciences, that were popular during the post-Gupta period, came to be embodied in the *Purāṇa*, not in the form in which they may have been conceived by the great intellectuals, but in the form in which the popular mind viewed them. Thus the *Agnipurāṇa* assumed the form of a store-house, embodying within it different cultural strata and literary traditions, popular at a period represented by it. In this way, the *Agnipurāṇa* occupies a place of eminence in the literary and cultural history of ancient India, and the importance of its study for the proper grasp of the general course of development of Sanskrit literature can hardly be over-estimated.

APPENDIX

N. B.—Verses from the *Agnipurāṇa* marked with asterisk almost agree with those in the original work, while those unmarked agree in *toto*. a indicates first half of the verse and b second half.

(i)

	Agn.	*Nīti*
* (1)	238/ 2	1/18
(2)	,, / 3a	,, /19b
(3)	,, / 3b	,, /20a
(4)	,, / 4	,, /21
(5)	,, / 5	,, /22
(6)	,, / 6	,, /35
(7)	,, / 7	,, /55
* (8)	,, / 9	2 /7
(9)	,, /10	,, /32
(10)	,, /13a	3/ 9b
(11)	,, /13b	,, /7a
(12)	,, /14a	,, / 7b
(13)	,, /17-21	,, /31-35
(14)	239/ 1	4/ 1
*(15)	,, /2-17	4/6-34
(16)	,, /27a	11/ 2b
(17)	,, /27b	,, /13a
(18)	,, /29a	,, /24b
(19)	240/29b	,, /25b
(20)	241/ 4	,, /56
(21)	,, / 5	,, /62
(22)	,, / 6	,, /65
(23)	,, / 7	12/ 2
(24)	,, / 8a	,, / 3 a
(25)	,, /10a	,, / 7 a
	,, /10b	,, / 8 b
*(26)	,, /12a	,, /32
(27)	,, / 2b	,, /36a
(28)	,, /18a	13/24b
*(29)	,, /18b	,, /26
* 30)	,, /22a	,, /32b
*(31)	,, /22b	,, /33
*(32)	,, /25-27	,, /59-63
*(33)	,, /40	14/25-48
*(34)	,, /41a	,, /55-57
*(35)	,, /40b	,, /58-61
*(36)	,, /43	16/ 6
(37)	241/46	17/ 3
*(38)	,, /49-52	,, / 6-11
*(39)	,, /64-65	,, /52-54
(40)	,, /68	,, /59
(41)	242/ 1-2	18/ 2-4
(42)	,, / 3-7	,, /44-48
(43)	,, /13a	,, /54b
(44)	,, /13b	,, /55a
*(45)	,, /22a	,, /63b
*(46)	,, /22b	,, /64a
(47)	,, /25a	18/64b
(48)	,, /23b	19/ 1a
(49)	,, /33b	,, /16b
(50)	,, /42a	,, /30b
(51)	,, /42b	,, /31a
(52)	,, /49a	,, /41b
(53)	,, /49b	,, /43a
(54)	,, /50b	,, /43b
(55)	,, /51-60	,, /44-54

* * *

(ii)

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* chapters 20–22 are the source for the account of dramaturgy in the *Agnipurāṇa.*

Agn.	*Nāṭ*	*Agn.*	*Nāṭ*
(1) 338/ 1	20/ 2	* (8) ,, /35-38	34/16-27
(2) ,, /19	21/22	* (9) ,, /41	24/203-204
(3) ,, /20	21/ 9	*(10) ,, 39 ff	35/45-60
(4) ,, / 7	,, / 8	*(11) 340/ 5-10	22/24 ff 6/24-25
(5) ,, /4b	,, / 2	*(12) 341/ 1-3	24/12·32
* (6) ,, 10-27	22/28-36		
* (7) 339/ 1-34	6/39 ff		

(iii)

A

Agn.	*MS.*	*Agn.*	*MS.*
(1) 154/ 3	3/44	*(11) 161/ 1b	3/33b
(2) ,, / 9-11	3/21-24	(12) ,, / 2a	,, /41b
* (3) 155/ 1a	4/92a	(13) ,, / 2b	5/38
* (4) ,, / 1b	4/50a	*(14) ,, / 3	6/41a, 43a
* (5) 160/ 3b	6/ 2b		
* (6) ,, / 4a	,, / 3b	*(15) ,, / 4a	6/43b
* (7) ,, / 4b	,, /23a	*(16) ,, / 7b	5/54a
* (8) ,, / 5a	,, /23b	(17) ,, / 8	6/56
* (9) ,, / 5a	,, 24b	(18) ,, /17	6/92
*(10) ,, / 5b	,, /31a		

B

Agn.	*Ys.*	*Agn,*	*Ys*
	Vyavahāra	* (3) 255/ 1-50	,, /68-113
* (1) 253/32-36	,, / 1-40	* (4) 256/ 1-36	,, /114-149
* (2) 254/ 1-27	,, /41·67	* (5) 258/ 1-83	,, /204-307

(iv)

The *Agnipurāṇa* has not adopted verses from the *Amarakoṣa verbatim* but has summarised them.

Agn.	*Amar.*	*Agn.*	*Amer*
(1) 360/1-95	1/ 6-347	(5) 365/1-11	„ /705-759
(2) 361/1-41	2/1448-1490	(6) 366/1-48	„ /766-1033
(3) 362/1-78	„ /301-562	(7) 367/1-25	3/1048-1172
(4) 364/1-30	„ /564-703		

(v)

Chapter VII; Matter from Smṛti Literature :—

Āçāra or *conduct* :—

Br. Vai, Brahma Khaṇḍa, 26; *Gar.* 50 and 213-217; *Kū Uttarārdha*, 18-19; *Liṅ.* 26; *Mārk.* 27; *Nār. Pūrvārdha*, 27; *Pad.* Sṛṣṭi. 46, *Uttara* 233; *Skan.* IV. 1 Chap. 35, III, 2, chap. 5.

Āśrama—Bhāg. VII, 12 and 13; XI 17, *Brah.* 114; *Gar.* 49. *Kū. Uttarārdha.* 14-16, and 27-28; *Nār. Pūrvārdha*, 27 and 43; *Pad. Ādi.* 50 and 60; *Bhūmi.* 59, Sṛṣṭi. 15, *Saura*, 17, 20; *Skan.* IV, 1 chap. 41/1; *Pūrvārdha*, chap. 41, *Viṣṇ.* III, 9.

Aśauca or Impurity—Brah. 113; *Gar. Preta* chap. 5, *Kū. Uttarārdha*, chap. 23; *Lin. Pūrvārdha*, chap. 89; *Kū. Uttar.* 23, 46-47.

Pātaka or sins—Brah. 20 and 105-106; *Mārk.* 12-14; *Nār. Pūrvārdha*, 15; *Śi. Umā-saṁhitā* 5, 6; *Bḍ. Upasaṁhāra*; chap. 8; *Gar.* 52 and 222; *Kū. Uttarārdha*, 30-34; *Liṅ.* 98; *Nār. Pūrvārdha* 14,30; *Pad. Brahma.* 18-19; *Saur.* 52; *Varā.* 68, 131-136, 179; *Vā. Pūrvārdha*, 18.

Saṁskāra or secraments—Bhavi. Brahma-parva, chap. 3, 4 and 7; *Nār. Pūrvārdha*, 25-26; *Skan.* IV. 1.36 and 38; *Viṣṇ.* III 10.

Śrāddha. etc.—Brah. 110-113; *Bḍ. Upodghāta.* 9-20; *Kū. Uttarārdha*, 20-22; *Mārk.* 27-30; *Liṅ. Uttarārdha* 45 ; *Mats.*

16-32; *Nār. Pūrvārdha*, 128; *Pad. Pātāla*. 101, *Śṛṣṭi*. 9-1, 47; *Skan*. VI, 215-225, VII, 205-207; *Varā*. 13-14, and 187-1028; *Vā*. *Uttarārdha*, chap. 10-21; *Viṣṇ*. III 13, 16.

Varṇadharma—*Bhāg* VII, 11; XI, 17; *Brah*. 114-115; *Gar*. 49; *Mārk*. 25; *Nār*, *Pūrvārdha* 24, 43, 59, 70; *Skan*. VI, 242; *Viṣṇ*. III, 8; *Br. Vai. Brāhma Khaṇḍa*, 10.

Prāyaścitta or atonement for sins—*Vaś. Dh*. chap. 20-28; *MS*. XI, 44-265; *YS*. III, 205-327; *Gar*. 52; *Kū*. *Uttarārdha*. 30-34; *Varā*. 131-136; *Bḍ*. *Upasaṁhāra*, chap. 9; *Viṣṇ. dh*., III, 73, and 234-237; for further details vide *HD*, Vol. IV, p. 77.

* * *

Abbreviations

A B O R I — *Annuals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.

A G I — Cunningham : *Ancient Geography of India*, edited with introduction and notes by S. N. Mujumdar Shastri.

Agn. — *Agnipurāṇa.*

A I — Mccrindle : *Ancient India.*

A I H T — Pargiter : *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*

Amar. — *Amarakośa.*

A P D — Mishra J. P. : *Aṣṭādaśapurāṇa-darpaṇa.*

Āp. Dh. — *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra.*

Āp. Gṛ. — *Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra.*

Ar. — Childe G. : *The Āryans,*

A R — Colebrook : *Asiatic Researches.*

Artha — Kauṭilya : *Arthaśāstra.*

A S — Ruyyaka : *Alaṅkārasarvasva.*

Āś. Gṛ. — *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyaśutra.*

Āś. Śr. — *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra.*

Aṣṭ. — Pāṇini ; *Aṣṭādhyāyī.*

Athar — *Atharvaveda.*

Bau. Dh. — *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra.*

BBRAS. Cent. Vol. — *Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Centenary Memorial Volume.*

B C V — *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.*

Bḍ. — *Brahmāṇḍa - purāṇa.*

Bg. — *Bhagavadgītā.*

Bhāg. — *Bhāgavata - purāṇa.*

Bhavi. — *Bhaviṣya - purāṇa.*

B I — Rhys Davids : *Buddhist India.* (fifth impression)

B I R — Jayachandra Vidyalankar : *Bhāratiya Itihāsa Kī Rūparekhā.*
Brah. — *Brahmapurāṇa.*
Bṛhat. — Varāhamihira : *Bṛhatsaṁhitā.*
Bṛ. Up. — *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.*
B R W — *Beal : Buddhist Records of the Western World.*
B V — *Bhāratīya Vidyā.* B. V. B. Bombay.

C A — *Classical Age,* edited by R. C. Mujumdar.
Chan. — Piṅgala : *Chandaśāstra.*
Chā. up. — *Chāndoga Upaniṣad.*
C H V — Patil D. R. : *Cultural History from the Vāyu-purāṇa.*
C R G — Lahiri P. C. : *Concepts of Rīti and Guṇa in Sanskrit Poetics.*

Daś. — Dhanañjaya : *Daśarūpaka.*
Dhv. — *Dhvanyāloka.*
D K. — Pargiter : *Dyanasties of the Kali Age.*

E. H. — G. N. Rao : *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Vol. I & II.
E. H. I. — Smith V. A. : *Early History of India* (4th edition).
E I — *Epigraphia Indica.*
Ess. — Wilson : *Essays.*

Gau. Dh. — *Gautama Dharmasūtra.*
G D — Nandalal De : *Geographical Dictionary.*
G H W — Oscar Browning : *A General History of the World.*
G I — Fleet : *Gupta Inscriptions.*
Go. Br. — *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.*
Gar. — *Garuḍa - purāṇa.*
G T — Yajnik M. M. : *Genealogical Tables of the Solar and the Lunar Dynasties with the map of Jambu Dvīpa.*

Hari. — *Harivaṁśa.*

H C — Bāṇa : *Harṣa - carita.*

H D — Kane P. V. : *History of Dharmaśāstra.*

H F I — Smith V. A. : *A History of fine arts in India and Ceylon.*

H I L — Winternitz : *A History of Indian Literature.*

H I A — Fergusson : *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.*

His. S, — Dasgupta and De : *A History of Sanskrit Literature.*

H S — Keith A. B. : *A History of Sanskrit Literature.*

H S L — Macdonell A. A. : *A History of Sanskrit Lit.*

H S P — Kane P. V. : *History of Sanskrit Poetics* (Introduction to his edition of *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*).

I B — N. K. Bhattasali : *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Decca Museum*, Decca, 1929.

I A — *Indian Antiquary.*

I. H. Q. — *Indian Historical Quarterly.*

In. P. — Dasgupta S. N. : *Indian Philosophy.* Vol. III.

I P. — Radhakrishnan S. : *Indian Philosophy.*

I W — Maxmuller : *India and what can it teach us.*

J A H R S — *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.*

J O I — *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.

Jai. Up. — *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad.*

Kā. — Bhāmaha : *Kāvyālaṅkāra.*

Kaṭho — *Kaṭhopaniṣad.*

Kā. sā. — Udbhaṭa : *Kāvyālaṅkārasāra–saṁgraha.*

Kā–Saṁ. — *Kāṭhakasaṁhitā.*

Kā. Sū. — Vāmana : *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra.*

Kd. — Daṇḍin : *Kāvyādarśa.*

Kl. — Rudraṭa : *Kāvyālaṅkāra.*

KM. — Rājaśekhara : *Kāvyamīmāṁsā.*

Kp. — Mammaṭa : *Kāvyaprakāśa.*
Kp. T. — *English Translation of Kāvyaprakāśa* by Dr. G. N. Jha.
Kū. — *Kūrmapurāṇa.*
Liṅ. — *Liṅgapurāṇa.*
Mahā. — Patañjali : *Mahābhāṣya.*
Mait. Sam. — *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā.*
Mārk. — *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.*
Mārk. T. — *Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa,* English Translation by Pargiter.
Mats. — *Matsya-purāṇa.*
MBh, — *Mahābhārata.*
ME. — Colebrooke : *Miscellaneous Essays.*
MS. — *Manusmṛti.*
Nār. — *Nārada-purāṇa.*
Nāt. — Bharata : *Nāṭya-śāstra.*
Nīti. — *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra.*
Nir. — Yāska : *Nirukta.*
ORI — Farquhar : *An Outline of the Religious Liierature of India.*
Pad. — *Padmapurāṇa.*
Pā. Gṛ. — *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra.*
PAP --- A. Sankaran : *The Philosophy of Aesthetic pleasure.*
PHAP — Raichaudhari H. C. : *Political History of ancient India,* (4th edition).
PTDK — Pargiter : *Purāṇa Texts of the Dynasties of Kali Age.*
Raghu — Kālidāsa : *Raghuvaṁśa.*
Rām. — Vālmīki : *Rāmāyaṇa.*
Ras. — Jagannātha : *Rasagaṅgādhara.*
Ṛg. — *Ṛgveda.*
ṚNAH. — Vans Kennedy : *Researches into the nature and Affinity of ancient and Hindu Mythology.*
RP — Gerini : *Researches on Ptolemy.*

Sā. D. — Viśvanātha : *Sāhityadarpaṇa.*
Sā. D. In. — *Sāhityadarpaṇa* edited by P. V. Kane, *Introduction.*
S A L — A Sankaran : *Some aspects of Literary criticism in Sanskrit of the Theories of Rasa and Dhvani.*
Śāṅ. Gṛ. — *Śāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra.*
Śāṅ. Śr. — *Śāṅkhyāyana Śrautasūtra.*
Sars. Kaṇ. — Bhoja : *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa.*
Śat, Br. — *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
S A V — Dikshitar R. : *Some aspects of the Vāyapurāṇa.*
S B E — *Sacred Books of the East Series.*
S *D* — Kaith A. B. : *Sanskrit Drama.*
S E P — Pusalkar A. D. : *Studies in Epics and Purāṇas.*
Śi — *Śivapurāṇa.*
Skan. — *Skandhapurāṇa,*
SP — De S. K. : *Sanskrit Poetics.*
SPRH — Hazra R. C. : *Studies in the Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs.*
Sṛṅ. — Bhoja : *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa.*
Tai. Ā — *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.*
Tai. S. — *Taittirīya Saṁhitā.*
T R D — A Sankaran : *Theory of Rasa and Dhvani in Sanskrit Poetics.*
Vā. — *Vāyu-purāṇa.*
Vāj. — *Vājasaneyīsaṁhitā.*
Vakro. — Kuntaka : *Vakroktijīvita.*
Varā. — *Varāha-purāṇa.*
Vaś. Dh. — *Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra.*
Viṣṇ. — *Viṣṇupurāṇa.*
Viṣṇ. Dh. — *Viṣṇudharmaśūtra.*
V S M — Bhandarkar R. G. : *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems.*
Yaju. — *Yajurveda.*
Yoga. — Patañjali : *Yogasūtra.*
YS — *Yājñavalkya-smṛti.*

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